# ŚAṄKARA - VIJAYAS

## A COMPARATIVE AND A CRITICAL STUDY

## APPENDIX

**(CONTAINS ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS MAGAZINES)**



By

**Dr. W. R. Antarkar**

Shanmukhananda Hall Dr. Shrikant Jichkar.
20.1.03.

Email : skmkanci@md3.vsnl.in
kanchimutt@vsnl.com
www.kamakoti.org.

Phone : (04112) 22115
Fax (04112) 24305

Sri Chandramouleeswaraya Namaha :

Sri Sankara Bhaghavadpadacharya Paramparagatha Moolomnaya

His Holiness Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetadhipathi

# JAGADGURU SRI SANKARACHARYA SWAMIGAL SRIMATAM SAMSTHANAM

No. 1, Salai Street, Kancheepuram-631 502. Tamilnadu, India.

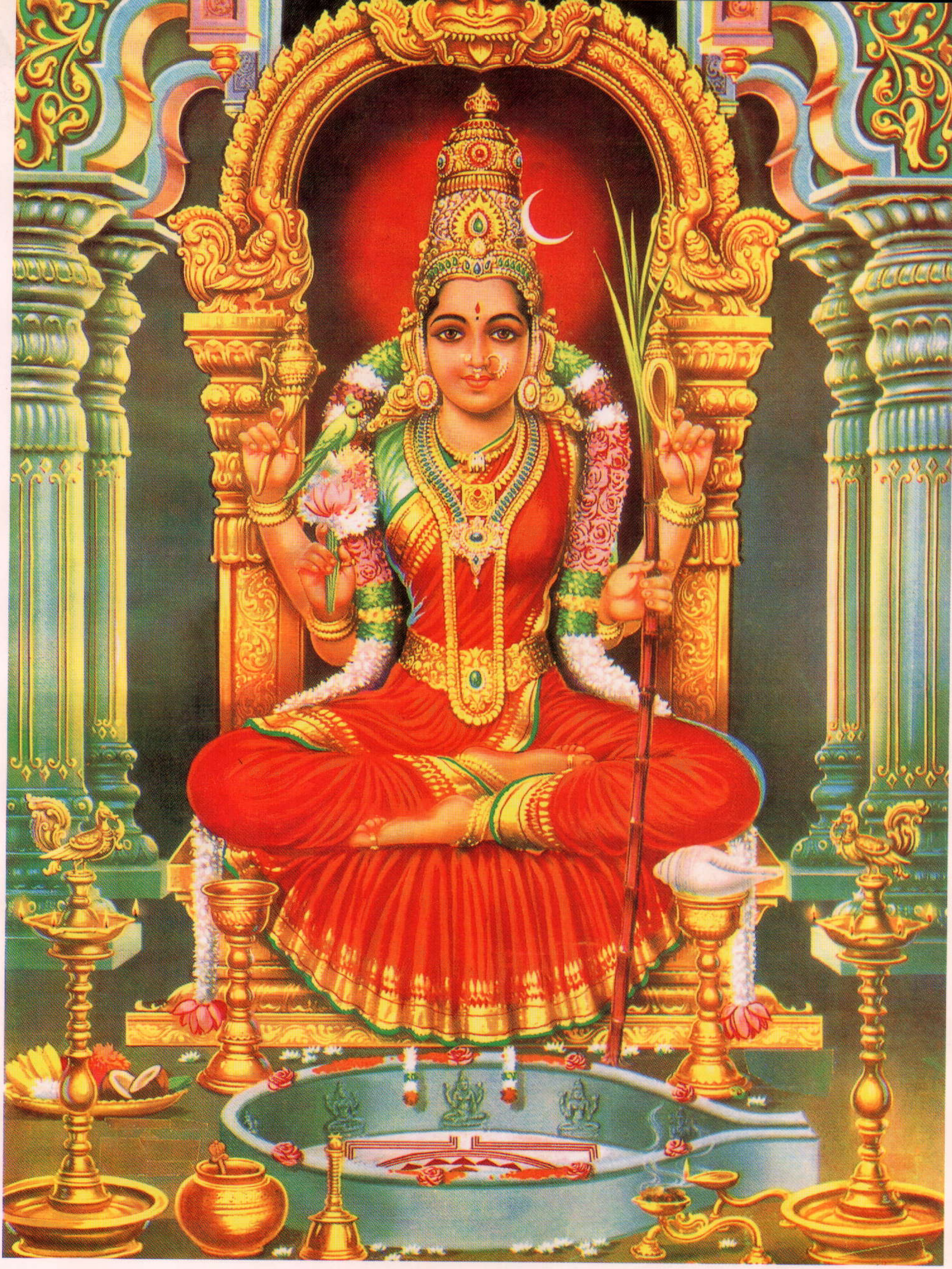
January 12, 2003

It is heartening to know that Veda Sastra Pandita Raksha Sabha, Mumbai is publishing Dr. W. R. Antarkar's book "Sankara Vijayas - A Critical Study". Dr. Antarkar is an acclaimed scholar who has done a lot of research and taken keen interest in the study on the Life and Works of Sri Adi Sankara and has written many books and contributed articles which have appeared in distinguished journals and prestigious institutions. Dr. Antarkar approaches his subject in an unbiased and critical manner, and this has earned him a special recognition in the literary field.

Dr. Antarkar's books and articles have been found to be of important source materials for researchers and students who work on the philosophy advocated by the great teacher of Advaita. We hope that the present publication on the "Sankara Vijayas - A Critical Study" will be of great benefit to those who have interest in Sanatana Dharma.

Our blessings to the author Dr. Antarkar and all those who have an opportunity to read this publication.

Narayanasmruti



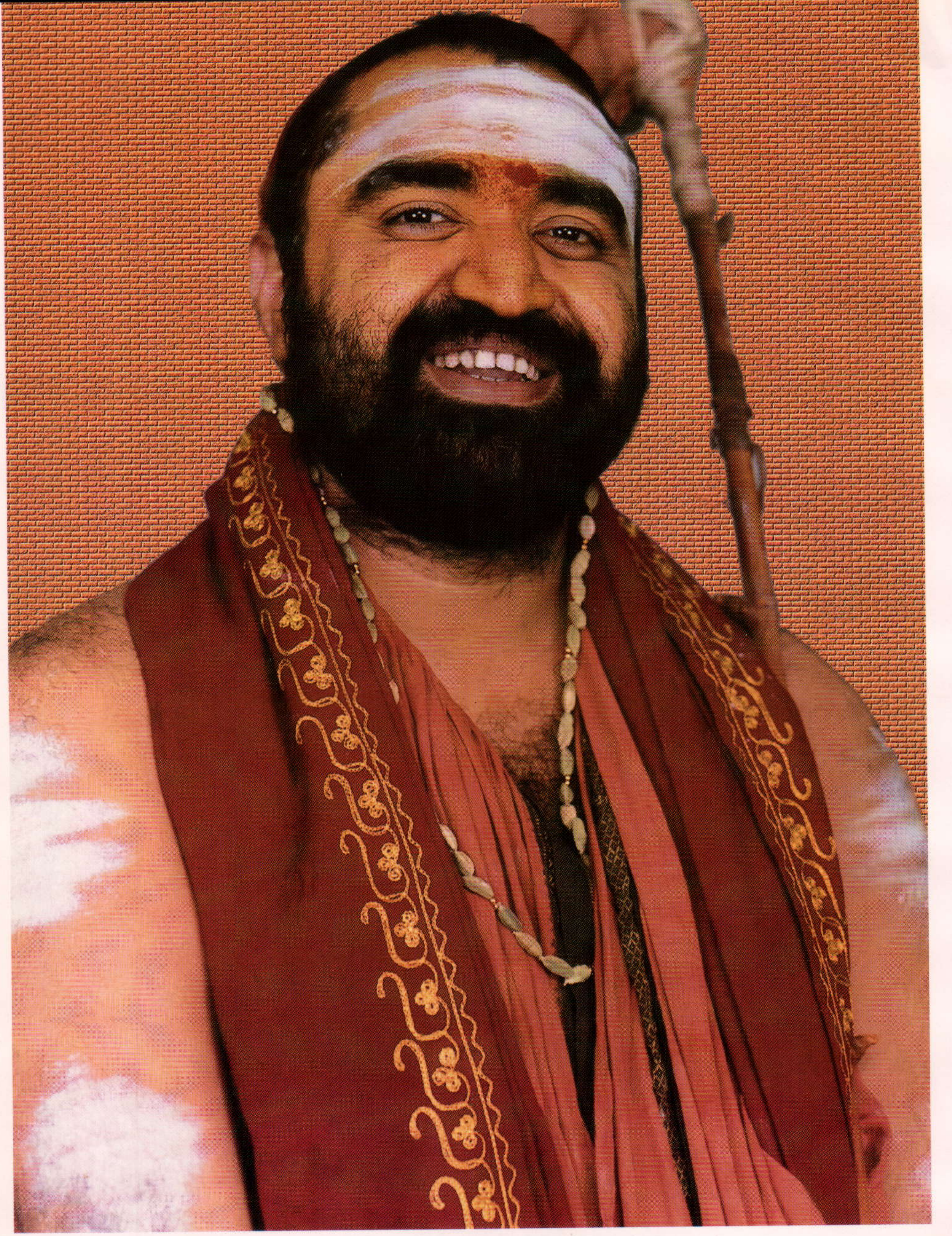
Sri Kanchi Kamakshi Ambal
KANCHEEPURAM.



HH Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Sankaracharya
68 th. Pontiff of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam.



HH Sri Jayendra Saraswati Sankaracharya
69 th. Pontiff of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam.



HH Sri Sankara Vijayendra Saraswati Sankaracharya
70 th. Pontiff of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam.

# ŚAṄKARA - VIJAYAS

A COMPARATIVE AND A CRITICAL STUDY

**APPENDIX**

(CONTAINS ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS MAGAZINES)

By

**Dr. W. R. Antarkar - M.A.L.L.B.,Ph.D.**

*Published by :*

**VEDA SASTRA PANDITA RAKSHA SABHA**

301, Aangan, Plot No. 40,
T. V. Chidambaram Marg, Sion (East),
MUMBAI - 400 022.
Tel. No. : 022-24043232 • Fax : 022-24010051

First Edition : 2003

Copies : 500



Publishers :
**VEDA SASTRA PANDIT RAKSHA SABHA**
301, Aangan, Plot No. 40, T. V. Chidambaram Marg,
Sion (East), Mumbai - 400 022.

# CONTENTS


| | | | Page No |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Preface (Synopsis) | |
| | | Abreviations | |
| Chapter | - I | The Era of King Harsa (Vardhana) of Kanoj | 1 |
| Chapter | - II | The Date of Śaṅkarācārya | 9 |
| Chapter | - III | Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gīta Bhāṣya (GBh.) | 30 |
| Chapter | - IV | The Caṇḍāla incident in the life of Śaṇkarācārya | 35 |
| Chapter | - V | Kālidāsa in U.S.S.R. with special reference to the Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* | 39 |
| Chapter | - VI | The Gitā-Bhāsya | 40 |
| Chapter | - VII | Life of Shri Adi Shankaracharya | 59 |
| Chapter | - VIII | Life of Shri Adi Shankaracharya - III | 68 |
| Chapter | - IX | Ādi Śaṅkaracārya and Sarvañapīṭhārohaṇa (सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण) | 72 |
| Chapter | - X | The Incident of Parakāyāyāpraveśa in the Life of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya | 86 |
| Chapter | - XI | What do the Shaṅkara Vijayas say about Shrī Shaṅkarāchārya? | 102 |
| Chapter | - XII | Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānandagiri | 110 |
| Chapter | - XIII | Life and Teaching of Shankara | 119 |
| Chapter | - XIV | Life of Shri Adi Shankaracharya | 124 |
| Chapter | - XV | The Place of Śaṅkaraâs Final Disappearance | 129 |

# SYNOPSIS

**Title : Śaṅkara Vijayas - A Comparative and a critical Study**

The thesis has been entitled 'Śaṅkara Vijayas - A comparative and a Critical Study' being an exhaustive analytical examination of about fifteen biographies of Śaṅkara, going under the name Śaṅkara - Vijaya and the like.

Chapter - I is introductory. After stating that comparatively little research work has been done on the life of Śaṅkara so far, it shows what new work has been put in for the thesis, as also its nature and scope.

Chapter - II deals with the data collected for the thesis, under three heads, with special reference to the biographies known as Śaṅkara - Vijayas.

Chapter - III contains a theoretical discussion of the essentials and evaluation of a good biography, with particular regard to the subject of the thesis.

Chapter - IV deals with the question of comparative chronology of the Śaṅkara - Vijayas, with approximation, as far as possible, to the dates of their composition and the question of their authoritativeness, individually and generally from the point of view of history.

Chapter - V discusses the question of Śaṅkara's date. After enumerating the various views expressed in the matter, four views have been selected for discussion and stated and examined in details.

Chapter - VI starts discussion of Śaṅkara's life proper and deals with the background, birth and early years, upto the point of Śaṅkara changing the course of the Cūrṇī river.

Chapter - VII deals with Śaṅkara's apprenticeship under Govindamuni and Gauḍapāda and his final initiation, along with renovation of the Badarī-Nārāyaṇa temple.

Chapter - VIII is devoted to Śaṅkara's last visit to his dying mother, then to his dying Guru Govindamuni and his acceptance of Sanandana as his second disciple, along with a few minor incidents like the revival of a dead boy.

Chapter - IX deals with Śaṅkara's encounter with Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa. In this connection, an important question as to who were Kumārila's true opponents - Buddhists or Jains - has been discussed at some length.

Chapter - X deals with the meeting of Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana-Miśra. At the very outset, the question of Maṇḍana - Sureśvara identity has been discussed at great length and the identity is attempted to be established. The chapter also discusses critically topics like the nature of the exact discussion between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara's para-kāyā-praveśa.

Chatper - XI deals with Śaṅkara's famous triumphant tour or Digvijaya-Yātrā, with incidents like his encounter with the Bhairava, Kāpālikas etc. At the end, the question of the validity of the Kācī Mutt, as the fifth mutt established by Śaṅkara has been discussed in great detail and the validity is shown to be proved by evidence available so far.

Chapter - XII deals with Śaṅkara ascending the Sarvajñapīṭha and his passing away. Questions about the location of the Sarvajña-pīṭha and the place of his final exit from the world have been critically examined and new conclusions reached in regard to both.

Chatper - XIII concludes the discussion in the preceeding chapter with a brief resumé of Śaṅkara's life and some remarks in general on the various life-accounts of Śaṅkara.

Chapter - XIV contains a very brief discussion of the works that can be attributed to Śaṅkara.

Three appendices have been added at the end. Appendix - A discusses briefly Śaṅkara's Guru-paramparā. Appendix - B deals with a minor poem and two biographies of Śaṅkara, not incorporated in the thesis proper. Appendix - C contains a brief discussion of the principal tenets of Śaṅkara's philosophy.

A complete bibliography has been added, showing all the works used and consulted for the thesis, with full details, where necessary, of their sources and present location, as far as they were available.

As has been stated in the Introductory Chapter, the type of comparative and critical examination of Śaṅkara's biographies, discussing each phase of it separately, has not been attempted by anyone so far. Besides, in addition to seven or eight altogether new biographies, brought to light for the first time, many questions have been discussed at great length and fresh conclusions have been drawn with the help of evidence and reasoning. The questions discussed are :

1. Authenticity of the existence of Bṛhat Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Citsukha and prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya of Ānandagiri.
2. Validity of the quotations in Suṣamā, a commentary on Gururatnamalika, a Kāñcī mutt publication.
3. Discussion of Śaṅkara's date and criticisms of the post-Christian Date theory.
4. The birth-place of Sankara.
5. Who were the opponents of Kumārila-Buddhists or Jains?
6. Maṇḍana - Sureśvara identity - Maṇḍana's residence.
7. The Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion and the incident of Para-kāyā praveśa.
8. Location of Sarvajña pīṭha in Kāśmīra or at Kācī.
9. Location of the place of Śaṅkara's final disappearance in the Himālayas or at Kāñcī in the south.
10. Discussion about Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gīta Bhāsya.

It is, therefore, submitted that the new material brought to light and the fresh findings recorded constitute the contribution of the present thesis.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bṛ. Ś.V. | बृ.शं.वि. | Bṛhat-Śaṅkara Vijaya |
| 2. | Pr.Ś.V. | प्र.शं.वि. | Prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya |
| 3. | Ś.V. | शं.वि. | Śaṅkara Vijaya |
| 4. | - | शं.भ्यु. | Śaṅkarābhyudaya |
| 5. | Ś.V. Jaya | शं.शं.जय. | Saṅkṣepa-Śaṅkara Jaya |
| 6. | Ś.V. Vilāsa | शं.वि.वि. | Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa |
| 7. | - | शां.दि.सार. | Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-Sārā |
| 8. | - | शं.मं.सौ. | Śāṅkara-Manda-Saurabha |
| 9. | - | शं.महिमा. | Śaṅkarācārya-Mahimā |
| 10. | G.V.K. | - | Guruvamśa - Kāvya |
| 11. | G.R.M. | गु.मा. | Guru-ratna-māla or mālikā |
| 12. | Br. Sū | ब्र.सू. | Brahma-Sūtra |
| 13. | Br.Sū.Bh. | ब्र.सू.भा. | Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya |
| 14. | Up. | उप | Upaniṣad or Upaniṣads |
| 15. | Br.Up. | बृ.उप. | Bṛhadāraṇya Upaniṣad |
| 16. | Chh.Up | छा.उप. | Chhāndogya Upaniṣad |
| 17. | Taitt.up | तै.उप. | Taittirīya Upaniṣad |
| 18. | Ait. Up. | ऐ.उप. | Aitareya Upaniṣad |
| 19. | Ait. Ar. | ऐ.आ. | Aitareya Āraṇyaka |
| 20. | Up. Sā | उप.सा. | Upadeśa Sāhasrī |
| 21. | Viveka Cū | विवेक. | Viveka-Cūdāmaṇi |
| 22. | Br. Si. | ब्र.सि. | Brahma-Siddhi of Maṇḍana |
| 23. | MBh. | महा. | Mahābhārata |
| 24. | Bhg. | - | Bhagavad-Gītā |
| 25. | Cit. | - | Citsukha |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26. | Ānand | - | Ānandagiri |
| 27. | Anantā | - | Anantānandagiri |
| 28. | Vyā | - | Vyāsacala |
| 29. | Cid | - | Cidvilāsa |
| 30. | Govind N. | - | Govinda-Nātha |
| 31. | Tiru.D. | - | Tirumala Dīxit |
| 32. | Rāja. D. | राज.दी. | Rajacūḍāmaṇi Dixit |
| 33. | Mād. | - | Mādhavācārya |
| 34. | Sadā | - | Sadānanda |
| 35. | Bāla Gopāla | - | Bāla-Golpāla-Yati |
| 36. | Br. Saras. | - | Brahmānanda Sarasvati |
| 37. | Param. | - | Parameśvara Kavi Kaṇthirava |
| 38. | Nīlā. | - | Nīlakaṇṭha |
| 39. | Vallī. | - | Vallisahāya |
| 40. | Gauda. | - | Gauḍapāda |
| 41. | Rāmā. | - | Rāmānujācārya |
| 42. | Dr. Rādhā. | - | Dr. S. Rādhākṛaṇan |
| 43. | B.O.R.I. Annals | - | Annals of the Bhāndārkar Oriental Research Institute. |
| 44. | I.A. or Ind. Ant. | - | Indian Antiquary |
| 45. | IHQ | - | Indian Historical Quarterly |
| 46. | J.A. | - | Jain Antiquary |
| 47. | JRAS | - | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| 48. | JBNRAS | - | Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. |
| 49. | Madhvā. | - | Madhvācārya |
| 50. | Anantā. | - | Ananatānandagiri |
| 51. | Ānanda. | - | Ānandagiri |
| 52. | Śaṅ. | - | Śaṅkara/Śaṅkarācārya |

# THE ERA OF KING HARSA (VARDHANA) OF KANOJ

by W.R. Anatarkar

While discussing the date of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya in my thesis entitled Śaṅkara-Vijayas : A comparative and a Critical Study, I had occasion to discuss an inscription of king Sivadeva Varma, the 27th king of the 5th (Sūryavaṁśī) dynasty of Nepal. This inscription is dated 119 of Harṣa Samvat. The discussion arises in the context of Śaṅkara's date as follows :

According to the Nepal Vaṁśāvali Śaṅkara visited Nepal during the reign of king Vṛṣadeva Varman, the 18th king of the 5th Suryavaṁśi dynasty and the king named his own son Śaṅkaradeva after Śaṅkara, obviously in honour of Śaṅkara's visit. According to the said Vaṁśāvali, this king Vṛṣadeva Varman preceeded by 150 years king Śivadeva Varman, the 27th king of the same Sūryavaṁśi dynasty. If, therefore, the time of king Śivadeva Varman's inscription referred to above, can be ascertained, the time of king Vṛṣadeva Varman and then that of Śaṅkara's visit to Nepal can also be ascertained. It is in this way that the identity of the Harṣa Saṁvat year 119 of which has been referred to in the inscription above, become important. This Harṣa Saṁvat has been interpreted in two different ways :

According to one view - we may call it the view of the traditionists - Harṣa Saṁvat in the inscription means the Era started by Harṣa Vikramāditya (of Ujjain) in 457 B.C. Harṣa Saṁvat 119m then give 338 B.C. as the year of king Siva Varman's inscription and as the time of the king himself also. 1 Calculating backwards from this date, the time of King Vṛsadeva Varman comes to 488 B.C. (338 + 150), which then is also the year of Śaṅkara's visit to Nepal.

Scholars like Dr. Buhler, however, who do not accept the historicity of either king Vikramāditya or the Era said to have been started by him in 457 B.C. take Harṣa Saṁvat in the inscription to mean the Era started in 606/7 A.D. by king Harṣa Vardhana of Kanoj, the patron of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and then deduce 725 A.D. as the date of the inscription in question and also of king Sṛivadeva Varman. 1a According to this view, the year of Śaṅkara's visit to Nepal would be about 575 A.D. (725 - 150 = 575 A.D.), if the statement in the Vaṁśāvali about the said visit is correct. This second view about the date of the inscription and of king Śivadeva-Varman gives

1. Vide (i) Chronology of Nepal history reconstructed by Sri Kota Venkatachalam, 1955, p.37; (ii) Age of Śaṅkara by T.S. Narayana Sāstri, 2nd edn, 1971, p.28
(Foot-note 16, continued from p.27)
2. For all this discussion, vide Indian Antiquary, Vol.13, December 1884, pp.411 - 428).

rise to a historical anomaly or discrepancy as follows :

King Aṁśuvarman has been mentioned in the Nepal Vaṁśāvali as the first king of the 6th (Thākuri) Dynasty (which naturaly follows i.e. comes after the 5th (Sūryavamśi) Dynasty of which king Śivadeva Varman was the 27th King. During his (i.e. Amśuvarman's) reign king Vikramāditya of Ujjain (who is different from king Harṣa Vikramādaya mentioned above) is said to have visited Nepal and then started there his own Era, which he had started earlier at Ujjain in 57 B.C. Dr.Būhler does not believe all this and identifies this king Amśuvarman with one king Amśu-fo-mo, mentioned by Hiean Tsang (also called Yuan Chwang), whose visit to Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A.D. King Amśuvarman, who is the same as this king Amśu-fo-mo, must, therefore, have ruled, according to Dr. Būhler, in the first half of the 7th century A.D.[3]

All this, however, means that king Śivadeva Varman, a king of an earlier i.e. 5th dynasty, who, as seen earlier, ruled, according to Bühler, in 725 A.D. actually came 100 years after Aṁśuvarman, a king of the 6th (Thākuri) dynasty. It is indeed surprising not only that Dr. Bühler has himself not noticed much less tried to explain - even like Weber in the case of Bhāskara[4] - this discrepancy in his own calculation but also that even though this anomaly has been brought out years ago, no scholar has paid any attention to it nor tried to explain it so far.

All this led me to examine, as far as I could the question of the identity and the genuineness of the Era attribued to king Harṣavardhana of Kanoj, said to have been started by him in 606 A.D. My submission is as follows :

The first point about this Era is that history does not know such an Era as having been started in the name of or by king Harsa of Kanoj (in 606 - 7 A.D.) I have ascertained this form some eminent history scholars. Neither Bānabhaṭṭa, the author of Harsa-Caritam nor the Chinese traveller, who is said to have come in contact with king Harṣa of Kanoj, explicity (or implicity) mention anything like an Era started by Harṣa. Dr. D.C. Sircar, in his book Indian Epigraphy discusses the time of Harṣa's coming to the throne, then his defeating the enemies during the next 6 or 7 years and then his own statement to a Chinese traveller about his having ruled for about 30 years. All this brings us to about 642 A.D. There is also some discussion about the exact year of Harṣa's death but nowhere in the course of this discussion is there any reference to or even a suggestion about Harṣa having started an Era of his own. Moreover, Dr. Sircar says clearly that "at his accession (to the throne) (i.e. about 606 - 7 A.D.), neither was Harṣa 'a Lord of India' (Cakravartin or Sārvabhauma) nor did the Allahabad region, where Harṣa's conversion with the Chinese pilgrim is said to have taken place, form a part of his dominions."[4] With the death of his elder brother Rājyavardhana, only the small kingdom of Thanesar about the eastern

3. Ibid. p.420.
4. Vide my article 'The Date of Śaṅkaracārya' Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bora Bay, 1994 pp.14 and 15.

part of Panjab, came into his possession. His conquest of Mālwā and Gauḍa enemies came 6 years later. In these circumstances, it is not at all probable that he started an era of his own, right at the time of ascending the throne in 606 A.D. when he was just the chief of a small kingdom. And if, at all, he started an ear of his own, it was in 606 A.D. and that is why there is no mention of any such new era either in Bāṇa's work (Harṣa-carita) or in the Chinese traveller's accounts.

Shankar Goyal says clearly that "the view that Harṣa founded an era, the initial year of which was 606 A.D. rests on the testimony of Alberuni.[5] He then mentions 5 eras adopted by the people in the 11th century A.D., viz., Eras of Harṣa, Vikrama, Śaka, Vallabha and Gupta and then quotes Alberuni thus; "His (i.e Śri Harṣa's) era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanoj. Between Śri Harṣa and Vikramāditya, there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by the inhabitants of that region. However, I have read in the Kaśmirian calendar that Śri Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In the face of this discrepancy, I am in perfect uncertainty."[6] Relying on Mathura and Kanoj tradition, Alberuni places the commencement of Harsa Era 400 years before Vikramāditya i.e. in 457 B.C. The Era of Harṣa, who according to the Kashmirian Calendar, comes 664 later than Vikramāditya, should be placed in 606 - 7 A.D, if at all there was any such Era in existence then (or even thereafter) According to Devahuti however, it was this Era (of 606 - 7 A.D.) which was prevalent in Alberuni's time in Mathura and Kanoj. It seems, according to Devahuti, that the inhabitants of that region deliberately misguided the Muslim scholar in order to impress him with the antiquity of the era they used.[8] He i.e. Alberuni has however preserved for us the valuable information he got from the Kashmir Calandar that Sri Harṣa was 664 years posterior to Vikramāditea."[9]

Now, how far the Kashmir calendar, which has not been seen by any one except Alberuni, is reliable is not at all known. Alberuni gives no indication whatever that the said calendar intended to suggest or did actually sugggest any Era by Harṣa who is said to have come 664 B.C. But, then, are the modern scholars, headed by Furgusson, prepared to accept the historicity of any king Vikramāditya in the first century B.C. which, along with the Era said to have been started by him in 57 B.C. they have all along been denying vehemently? It is indeed surprising that such insufficient and even doubtful data should be used by scholars to decide such an important issue. Moreover, the idea of the inhabitants of the region (of Mathura and Kanoj) misguiding Alberuni almost presumes the existence of an Era in the name of Harṣa dating from 457 B.c. The idea of misguiding is again just a conjecture of Mr. Devahuti, who has

5. Vide Indian Epigraphy by D.C. Sircar (First Edition, 1965), p.293.
6. Vide History and Historiography of the Age of Harṣa by Shankar Goyal (First Edition, 1992), p.306.
7. Vide Alberuni's India, ed. by Sachau, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX, p.5. 29 (Annals Bori).
8. Vide History and Historiography of the Age of Harṣa by Shankar Goyal, p.307.
9. Ibid.,p.307.

cited no evidence in support of the same and is very much like other conjectures of foreign scholars (e.g. Max Müller's conjecture of the 4 strata of Vedic literature, each succeeding being removed from each preceding by a gap of 200 years, or the suggestion-cum-conjecture of Sir W. Jones that Megasthenes had by mistake or inattention onlyl mentioned Soṇe and Erranaeboas as two distinct rivers when they represented one river only). The suggestion of Mr. Devahuti has, however, been accepted as the truth. It is also worth noting that Alberuni seems to have mentioned the 5 eras in their chronological order. The Harṣa Era which precedes the Vikrama Era by 400 yrs. can obviously not be the Era of Harṣa in 606 - 7 A.D. which has to come 664 years after the Vikrama or king Vikramāditya and there is no second Harṣa Era among the group of 5 eras. The greater probability is that there were two Harṣas, viz., (i) Harṣa, or Harṣa Vikramāditya as he was called, who started his own era in 457 B.C. and (ii) Harṣavardhana of Kanoja, who did not start nor has he been credited with having started any era of his own. This explains squarely both the statements viz., that the Harṣa i.e. Harṣa Vikramāditya Era was started 400 years before Vikramāditya of 57 B.C. i.e. in 457 B.C. and that Harṣavadhana of Kanoj was later than Vikramāditya of 57 B.C. by 664 years, i.e. he belonged to 606 - 7 A.D. though no era was started by him in that year. As said earlier, the Kashmir Calendar also makes no mention of era as having been starṭed by this Harṣa of Kanoj, much less in 606 - 7 A.D., which is the year of his routine accession to the throne after the death of his brother Rājyavardhana. Eras have generally been started to commemorate some outstanding event during the reign of a king and not the simple accession to the throne of a petty kingdom as a matter of course.

It has also to be noted that Alberuni does not refer to 457 B.C. Era of Harṣa here only. He refers to it at another place also, where he refers to 4 or 5 eras and gives their computation of time in terms of 400 Yazdagird (i.e. 1031 A.D.) and he mentions Harṣa's Era as 457 B.C. and Vikrama Era as 57 B.C. but does not mention any era of Harṣa in 606 A.D. though he has mentioned there eras right up to 966 A.D.[10]

Lastly - and this is quite important - I have discussed already king Śivadeva Varman's inscription dated 119 of Harṣa Saṁvat and also what happens if this Harṣa Saṁvat is taken to mean the Harṣa Era of 606 - 7 A.D. as done by Dr. Bühler. A king of an earlier dynasty comes to the throne about 120 years, after the first king of the next dynasty. And this is independent of whether or not Śaṅkara visited Nepal. This last point also has been discussed by me at some length in my article on the date of Śaṅkara.

According to Dr. Sircar, the Chinese Pilgrim Hieun Tsang mentions Aṁśuvarman as a past ruler in 637 A.D., while Dr. Shankar Goyal says that "even in 637 A.D.[11] when Yuan Chwang (same as Hieun Tsang) visited Vaiśāli, Aṁśuvarman was already dead"[12] The Nepal

10. Vide Alberuni's India, ed.by Sachau, p.7.

vaṁśāvali says that in the time of Aṁśuvarman, king Vikramāditya of Ujjain went to Nepal and introduced his own Era (i.e. Vikrama Saṁvat) there i.e. in Nepal. It has here been suggested that by Vikramāditya, chroniclers meant Harṣa Śilāditya as, at this period, there was no other Indian monarch capable of extending his influence in Nepal. It has also been said that this suggestion could be supported by the fact that in Indian tradition, Harṣa Śilāditya was persistently confused with the legendary Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjaini, probably because Harṣa was the founder of an Era even like the traditional origination of Harṣa Saṁvat. Thus the Indian tradition seems to speak of Harṣa indirectly as the founder of an era exactly as the celebrated Vikramāditya. Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions bear the dates (i.e. years) 34, 39 and 45. If there are dated in the Harṣa (Vardhana) Era of 606 A.D. Aṁśuvarman would be placed from 640 A.D. to 651 A.D. This does not tally with Yuan Chwang's statement that he was a past ruler in 637 A.D. Hence, according to Dr. Sircar, the records of Aṁśuvarman and his successors probably bear dates in the Śika Era minus 500, so that 501 is year 1 of Aṁśuvarman's regnal reckoning. The dates 34, 39 and 45 would then come to 534 A.D. 539 A.D. and 545 A.D. Dr. Goyal, however, says that they are not dated in the Harṣa Era but "in an Era, which may be called the Mānadeva or Aṁśuvarman Era, the initial year of which is 576 A.D." He says further that "apparently, the former (i.e. here Aṁśuvarman) started the era but dated it from the accession of the first puppet king he had installed, 576, therefore also signified Aṁśuvarman's own rise to power." This, then, gives the three inscription dates as 610, 615 and 621 A.D. This means that Aṁśuvarman must have died after 621 A.D. but before 637 A.D. the latter being the date when he was said by Yuan Chwang to be dead already. Dr. Goyal however, does not agree with persons like Bhagawan Lal Indraji and others who believe in the theory of Harsa's suzerainty over Nepal and also with the view that he visited Nepal and established his own Era there.

Both Dr. Sircar and Dr. Goyal refer to the Nepal Vaṁśāvali as recording that, before Aṁśuvarman came to the throne, Vikramāditya had reached Nepal and started his own Era (57 B.C.) there. Dr. Goyal, however, remarks that the Nepal Vaṁśavali is of little historical value and Harṣa is not known to have assumed the title Vikramāditya. His title was Silāditya. Dr. Sircar, on the contrary, tries, as stated a little earlier, to explain the confusion between Vikramāditya and Harṣa Śukāditya created by the chroniclers as also the confusion in Indian tradition in the matter of Harṣa starting his own Era like Vikramāditya starting his own Saṁvat. He, then, concludes that the Indian tradition seems to speak of Harṣa indirectly as the founder of an Era of his own exactly like the celebrated Vikramāditya.[13]

A number of doubts require here to be cleared :

11. Vide Indian Epigraphy by D.C. Sircar, p.297.
12. Vide History of Historiography of the Age of Harṣa by Shankar Goyal (1992), p.202).

1. Whereas Dr. Goyal does not assume or accept the visit to or conquest of Nepal by Harṣa of Kanoj on the ground that he had never assumed the title Vikramāditya - it being Vikramāditya who was said to have visited Nepal and started his Era there - and had remained Silāditya. Dr. Sircar identifies Vikramāditya and Harṣa Śilāditya and thereby seems to accept the latter's visit to Nepal but under the mistaken name of Vikramāditya. Dr. Sircar then justifies this on the basis of persistent confusion in the Indian tradition, which seem to him to identify the two persons and then he credits Harṣa though indirectly, with the founding of his own Era. By saying that at that period i.e. about 606 A.D., there was no other Indian king who could have exerted an influence in Nepal, he seems himself to imply that he established his own era also there. This, however, does not seem possible because if the inscription of Aṁśuvarman are to be accepted and their dates are to be taken to pertain to Śaka reckoning, 501 A.D. is the first year of his reign and it must have extended upto 545 A.D. or a little more, which is very much anterior to 606 A.D. when Harṣa is said to have ascended the throne at Thaneśvar and the Era also is said to begin in that year. Then, how could he go to Nepal before Aṁśuvarman became the king in 501 A.D.?

2. According to Dr. Goyal, if Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions are not dated in the Harṣa Era, "but in an era which may be called Mānadeva or Aṁśuvarman Era, the initial year of which is 576 A.D., what is the evidence for Aṁśuvarman's own Era, started by himself? Mānadeva (Śivadeva Varman) also belong to the Sūryavaṁśa dynasty (of which they were the 25th and the 27th kings) while Aṁśuvarman is hte first king of the following Thākuri dynasty and is removed from these two kings by an interval of 6 and 4 kings and by 250 yrs., and 150 yrs., respectively. The attribution of an Era to Aṁśuvarman seems to be merely conjectural and not at all factual- perhaps very much like the Harṣa Era. As a matter of fact, all this reasoning of Dr. Goyal and Dr. Sircar in this particular regard is, in my humble opinion, a chain of what perhaps was considered by them to be "just reasoning and probable conjecture" (to borrow a phrase from Sir William Jones) but with any foundation of factual evidence. all this conjectural reasoning being with a persevering motive to establish somehow the Era of Harṣavardhana of Kanoj which never came into being and then to discredit any statement tht may be found to be contrary thereto.

All this is due to the refusal and unwillingness of these scholars to believe the Nepal Vaṁśavali which says that Vikramāditya of 57 B.C., vistied Nepal during - and not before - the reign of Aṁśuvarman which, according to the same Vaṁśavali, took place in 101 B.C. and continued upto 33 B.C. And, then, there is nothing inherently impossible in Vikramāditya's

13. For all this discussion, vide Indian Epigrophy by D.C. Sircar, p. 297, and History and Histriography etc. by Shankar Goyal, pp.201 - 2).

establishing his own Vikram Samvat 57 B.C., there i.e. in Nepal. Then, Harṣa need not have assumed the title Vikramāditya and could very well have remained Śilāditya and with that, the difficulty of there being no Indian monarch powerful enough at that time (i.e. 1st Century B.C.) to influence and subdue Nepal also gets resolved. Lastly, the inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman need not be dated in the Harṣa Era of 606 A.D. (which really did not exist at any time) nor in the Śaka Era and not even in an imagined Era of Aṁśuvarman or Mānadeva. The said inscriptions can easily be reckoned in terms of his own reignal period or in the Vikrama Saṁvat, said to have been established in Nepal by king Vikramāditya during his visit there. Then, Aṁśuvarman being a past ruler in 637 A.D. can also be very reasonably explained. We need not even run back to the Harṣa Vikramāditya Era of 457 B.C., which has been said by Dr. Sircar to be a fabricated one. For this purpose, however, the view that Harṣa Śilāditya of Kanoj possibly started an era of his own in 606 A.D. will have to be given up. But, then, an era called the Vikrama Saṁvat said to have been started by king Vikramāditya in 57 B.C. will have to be accepted. However, inspitte of a persistent Indian tradition in that regard, particularly found in Jain Prabandha works, which record various historical events in terms of Vikrama Saṁvat of 57 B.C., and the opinion of scholars like Dr. Raj Bali Pandey and Dr. R.C. Majumdar that "Vikramāditya might be a historical person," that "slowly but steadily, more and more scholars are coming forward to challenge the validity of the assumption that Vikramāditya is a myth"[14] and that "the negative evidence about the Vikrama Era also cannot prove that it was not founded by Vikramāditya"[15] (of course, in the 1st century B.C.), Dr. Sircar holds that "the original Vikramāditya was Candragupta - II" (of the Gupta dynasty). Further, he is of the opinion that it was the Scytho-Parthian Era of the 1st Century B.C. that came to be associated with the name of King Vikramāditya only in the 8th century A.D. 15 Surprisingly enough, Dr. Sircar states that Alberuni learnt from the Kashmirian Calendars that the Śri Harṣa Era from 457 B.C. in the Mathura and Kanoj regions.[16] Here, Dr. Sircar has almost definitely presumed that the passage from Alberuni's book shows unquestionably that Alberuni knew of a Harṣa Era starting from 606 A.D. or that Alberuni heard of another Harṣa Era" (other than the Harṣa Era in 457 B.C.) "having its epoch 664 years after the commencement of the Vikrama Saṁvat i.e. in 606 A.D.[17] Here, Dr. Sircar has almost definitely presumed that the passage from Alberuni's book shows unquestionably that Alberuni knew of a Harṣa Era starting from 606 A.D. or that alberuni heard of another Harṣa Era" (other than the Harṣa Era in 457 B.C.) "having its epoch 664 years after the commencement of the Vikrama Saṁvat i.e. in 606 A.D."[18] As a matter of fact, however, Alberuni's words are: "However, in the Kashmirian Calendar, I have read that Śri Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya."[19] How this statement can be construed to imply a Harṣa Era 664 years after Vikramāditya passes one's understanding. There is not even a very indirect or remote reference to a Harṣa Era,

14. Vide 'Vikramāditya of Ujjain' by Raj Bali Pandey (1951), Foreward by R.C. Majumdar; p.ii.
15. Ibid., Foreward : p.v.
16. Vide Indian Epigraphy by D.C. Sircar, p.251.
17. Ibid., p. 324.

commencing in 606 A.D. If the Nepal Vaṁśavali is historically valueless, what is the value of the Kashmirian Calendar, which has been seen by no one except Alberuni that the discrepancy - and such an important one - should be sought to be confidently explained on the hypothesis that the people of the place deliberately misinformed and / or misguided the Muslim scholar [20] or played a trick on the foreigner by giving him false information?[21] It is really surprising that clear references to eras like Harṣa Era of 457 B.C. and Vikramâditya Era of 57 B.C. in Alberuni's work should be disbelieved and discredited as fabricated or be equated with a Scytho Parsian era and a Harṣa Era of 606 A.D. should be sought to be proved with the help of a most conjectural reasoning and interpretation of Alberuni's statements, Dr. Sircar says, "the use of Harṣa era of 457 B.C. is unknown to Indian epigraphic and literary records but that its epoch is just 400 years earlier than that of the Vikrama Saṁvat may suggest that this reasoning also was probably invented by astronomers for the purposes of calculation, although Alberuni's statement really appears to be based on wrong information.[22] But, then, what guarantee is there that the figure of 664 years after Vikramāditya, found in the Kashmirian Calendar, was based on correct information? And except this Kashmirian Calendar, what are the epigraphic or literary records that bear out the Harṣa era of 606 A.D.? Moreover, that the figure 400 suggests that the reckoning is probably an invention of astronomers for purposes of calculation seems to be another probable conjecture only worth nothing more, unsupported as it is by any evidence or argument. Why should one era be called fabricated and another absolete. And when all this is set aside, we are left with the anomaly pointed out earlier, viz., Aṁśuvarman, the first king of the 6th dynasty coming about 120 years earlier than Śivadeva Varman, a king of the 5th dynasty, as a result of applying the reckoning of Harṣa era of 606 A.D. to Harṣa Saṁvat 119 mentioned in the inscription of king Śivadeva Varman and the identification of Amchu-fo-mo with King Aṅśuvarman. As said earlier, this discrepancy has not been either noticed or attempted to be explained by any one so far, as far as I am aware. In a way, this particular case has a very close bearing on the date of Adi Śaṅkarācārya and hence also this detailed discussion of the Harṣa Era on which it hinges. The Harṣa Era of 606 - 7 A.D. therefore, has to be set down as a mere conjecture without any foundation in fact whatsoever.

---

18. Ibid., p. 295.
19. Vide Alberuni's India, Part II, p.5.
20. Vide History and Historiography ed. by Shankar Goyal. p.307.
21. Vide Indian Epigraphy by D.C. Sircar, p.324.
22. Ibid., p.238.

# THE DATE OF SANKARACARYA

## W.R. ANTARKAR

The date of Śaṅkarācārya is a very important question in his life, but it is equally complicated, controversial and finally undecided till today. A whole host of varying dates have been proposed for him and they range from about 3000 B.C. (Śukranāḍī places him 32 yrs. before Śri Kṛṣṇa, a principal character in MBh. War, which is traditionally said to have taken place about 3138 B.C), while the author of Dabistán brings him down to about 1349 A.D. Between these two ends, various dates, many of them slightly different from one another, have been put forward for Śaṅkarācārya. All these can be broadly divided into two caregories, viz., pre-Christian and post-Christian. In the first, we have two dates in particular, viz., 509 - 477 B.C., based principally on the records Śaṅkarācārya's mutts at Dvārakā, Purī and Kāñcī which are more or less uniform in their reckoning and supported by Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry Shri V.G. Ramachandran (both no more alive), Shri Udaya Vira Shastri and Shri S.D. Kulkarni. The second viz., 1st century B.C. (44 B.C. to 12 B.C.) was the date formerly assigned to Śaṅkarācārya by Śṛṅgeri Mutt, which was however given it up recently and shifted to 788 A.D. - 820 A.D. as the life-span of Śaṅkarācārya. In the second category initially we have the date 788 A.D. to 820 A.D. proposed by Shri K.B. Pathak on the basis of a three - page MS. procured by him from one Shri Govindabhatta Yerdekar from Belgaum 1 and accepted by many of the scholars working on this subject. Variations of this date were suggested by a number of scholars from Lok. Tilak, Shri Bhaushastri Vaze, Justice Telang and others down to Shri Raja Gopal Sharma, Prof. Hajime Nakamur, Shri Tola and others, 2 among whom is Prof. R.M. Umesh who has examined the subject in very great depth and at great length also and then the variations range from about 500 A.D. to 750 A.D.

Out of these, only two dates require to be noticed, viz., (i) 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. and (ii) 788 - 820 A.D. and / or its variations, as they continue to be the real contender even today. The first of these is an exact date while the second is uniform only within a definite range, the 788 - 820 A.D. date not being very much favoured by the most recent scholars, as there is a general tendency among them not to accept the validity of the three - page MS. of Shri Pathak, the author or the name of the book to which it belongs, not being known even today.

509 B.C. to 477 B.C. :- The main support of this theory is the succession lists of the Ācārya or the heads of the three mutts mentioned earlier, viz., Dvārakā, Purī and Kāñcī. Out of these the first is found given in their own publication Vimarśa in Sanskrit said to have been written in about 1898 A.D. by their Acārya, Śri Rājarājeśvara Śaṅkara Svāmī, while that of the Kāñcī Mutt is found given in three works viz., Punya Sloka Mañjarī, Guru Ratna Mālikā and Suṣamā, the third being a commentary on the second. The lists of these two mutts given the regnal period of the different Ācāryas and at the same time, give some information about Śaṅkarācārya in particular. They mention 509 B.C. and 477 B.C. as the years of Śaṅkarācārya's birth and passing away respectivelyl and 32 years as the total span of his life.

The Purī Mutt list does not give the regnal periods of the various Ācāryas but with more than 140 Ācāryas, Śaṅkarācārya is taken back to a pre-Christian period and is generally said to agree with 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as that period. It may further be noted that the same list gives 484 B.C. as the years in which Śaṅkarācārya established that mutt.2a

The Jyotir Mutt is generally considered to be a defunct mutt but the recent i.e., the present reigning Ācārya of the same gave me in 1987 A.D. a list of about 82 Ācāryas of the said mutt, without their regnal priods and this is said generally to agree with 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as the period of Śaṅkarācārya.

The Śṛṅgeri Mutt (Tuṅgā) strikes a different note. Till about 30 years ago, it held 44 B.C. to 12 B.C. to be the period of Śaṅkarācārya, Vikrama Saṁvat 14 being then given as the year of Śaṅkarācārya's birth. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that the said mutt held this view at least formerly. Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry has tried to show 3 that this reckoning was according to the Jain Yudhiṣthira Śaka, which is short of the Yudhi. Śaka of the Hindus or the Dharma Śaka by 468 years. If these are added to 44 B.C., it agrees, though with a slight difference, with 509 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkarācārya's birth.

This is how the Mutt-tradition is said to give almost uniformly the 6th century B.C. (509 B.C. to 477 B.C.) as the period of Śaṅkarācārya. To this we may add the references in the Purāṇas to the 1st century B.C. as the age of Śaṅkarācārya generally. Even like the Śṛṅgeri tradition above it can be said to approximate to the 6th Century B.C. theory as per the Mutt tradition.

One more point may be noted. According to Shri K.K.Lele, the Saṅkeśvara Mutt, which is a branch of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, refers to 2122 Yudhi, Śaka, Sarvajit Saṁvat, Mārgaśiras Śuddha 5th, as the date of Śaṅkarācārya's birth.4 If this is Yudhi. Śaka according to the Jain reckoning, we get 509 or 510 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkarācārya's birth. This, then, is a confirmation of the period of Śaṅkarācārya as per the lists of Ācāryas of the principal mutts of Śaṅkarācārya.

More specific and definite information about this 6th century B.C. theory by P..M. and

Suṣamā and by Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry, who (particularly the latter two) have called it from Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya, attributed by them to one called Citsukhācārya. He is said to have been contemporary disciple and a close associate of Śaṅkarācārya for about 25 years. He belonged to Gokarṇa, his first name was Viṣṇu Śarman and he was a co-student of Śaṅkarācārya at the Gurukula. Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry tells us that thie Br.Ś.V. of Cit. was in three parts, viz., (i) पूर्वाचार्यसत्पथ 30 chapters, (ii) शङ्कराचार्यसत्पथ 170 Chapters, and (iii) सुरेश्वराचार्य सत्पथ 24 Chapters. The first dealt with the predecessors of Śaṅkarācārya the second with the life of Śaṅkarācārya himself and third with an account of Sureśvara, the disciple of Śaṅkarācārya Shri Sastry tells us that he had given a multilated copy of the second part, on the basis of which he has given in his own work an account of Śaṅkarācārya's life, upto his meeting with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and he has cited, from time to time quotations therefrom, mainly pertaining to the dates of important events in Śaṅkarācārya's life, a thing not done by any other work available to us so far, nor even by Suṣamā, which gives as from that work (the शं. स्पथ i.e., the second part thereof) quotations pertaining to few events like the birth and passing away of Śaṅkarācārya only. Shri Sastry gives some quotations from another work also viz., Prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya attributed by him to Ānandajñāna alias Ānandagiri, which also he seems to have had with him and Pr. Ś.V. agrees with the Br.Ś.V. particularly about the age of Śaṅkarācārya.

In addition to its own quotations from Br.Ś.V. and Pr.Ś.V., Śuṣamā gives one set of 29 stanzas as sfrom one work called Śaṅkarendra Vilāsa, attributed to Vākpati Bhaṭṭa and said to be a biography of Śrī Abhinava Saṅkara, said to have been the 36th or 38th head of the Kāñcī Kāmakoti Mutt. The stanzas quoted from this work, tell us that Abhi. Śaṅkarācārya was born in 788 A.D. If this is true, it will go a long way to support the 6th century B.C. theory about Śaṅkarācārya's period.[5]

Then, we have a number of stanzas in Sanskrit quoted by the Late Shri Appashastri Rashivadekar, a great Sanskrit scholar, in his Sanskrit Fortnightly, Sanskrit Candrikā, as from some Jain works none of which has been named except one viz., Jina Vijaya.6 These stanzas give the dates of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's birth in 557 B.C. Śaṅkarācārya's birth 48 years later in 509 B.C. Kumā's meeting Śaṅkarācārya and passing away also in 494 B.C. in his 63rd year. All these details confirm preciselyl the 6th Century B.C. Theory.

Vimarśa, Dvārakā Mutt publication, gives the full text of a coppoerplate inscription, dated in the year 2663, Yudhi, Śaka, said to have been issued by King Sudhanvan to Śaṅkarācārya himself and this again points to the 6th century B.C. for Śaṅkarācārya. The original copperplate has, however, not b een traced or seen by anyone so far.

Then again, we have a reference in the Nepāla Rājavaṁśāvali to Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Nepal, in the reign of King Vṛṣadevavarman, the 18th king of the Sūryavaṁśa dynasty of Nepal. According to one inscription of King Sivadevavarman, the 27th King of the same dynasty, this king was coronated in the year 119 of Harṣa Saṁvat, which is said to give us 338 B.C.7 This

king is said to be removed from king Vṛṣadevavarman by 150 years., thus giving his years as 488 B.C., which is also given in the Vaṁśāvali as the year of Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Nepal.

Lastly, when I visited Puri in 1958 A.D. and met the pontiff of the Govardhan Mutt, I was told by the pontiff that the Mutt, which I had visited, was not the original site of the same established by Śaṅkarācārya. The original site was inside the Jagannātha's temple, from where it was shifted to the present site about 1150 years ago and that it was long after Śaṅkarācārya's time. This seems to square with 484 B.C. mentioned in the list of the Mutt's Ācāryas as the year of the establishment of the Mutt by Śaṅkarācārya.

All these pieces of evidence seem to prove that Śaṅkarācārya was born in 509 B.C. and died in 477 / 6 B.C., or that his period was from 510 B.C. to 477 B.C. This is many times called the 6th Century B.C. theory. There are, however, many and very serious objections to this theory and they have been put forward, particularly by the native scholars like Shri K.R. Venkataraman, Shri Raja Gopal Sharma and Prof. R.M. Umesh as also some other scholars who have tried to tackle the issue of Śaṅkarācārya's date. Prof. Umesh has in particular tried to expose the utter unreliability of all the Mutt records, which point to this theory and then tried to show by independent evidence and arguments based thereon that Śaṅkarācārya will have to be placed somewhere in the second half of the 7th century A.D. only.

The various objections to this theory are :

(1) The authorities like Bṛ. Ś.V., Pr.Ś.V., Śaṅ. Vil. and the Jain work referred to and quoted from by Suṣamā, Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry, and Shri Rashivadekar are not available anywhere so far. Even Śaṅ.Vil. which is said to give 788 A.D. as the date of birth of Śri Abhi. Śaṅkarācārya[8], the 36th or 38th head of the Kāñcī Kāmakoti Mutt is not available anywhere.

For about 40 years I have been trying to get one or more of these works throughout India and yet, I have failed to trace them - even one. I have, however, strong grounds for holding that they existed till very recentlyl and possibly exist even today. The Advaita Rājya Lakṣmi, a commentary on the Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya of Mādhava as well as Suṣamā quote profusely from both these works. More than this, the late Shri T.S.N. Sastry, a Madras High Court Advocate, has stated in no uncertain terms that he had with him a copy of the second part of Bṛ.Ś.V. of Cit. and from his book, he also seems to have had with him some other books also like Gauḍa. Ullāsa, Śaṅ.Vil. which seem to have been utilised by him at first hand while writing his book.

One great scholar from Nagpur, the late Shri Bala Shastri Haradas told me personally that the late Kāñcī Paramācārya had placed before him a huge palm-leaf MS. which was said to be

Pr.Ś.V. but thinking that was in Telugu language, which he could not read, he did not take it.

One Court Pandit (Āsthāna Vidvān) of the Kāñcī Mutt, the late Shri Venkata Dixitar, Bombay also had told me personally that as far as he knew, the three works, Br. Ś.V., Pr. Ś.V. and Śaṅ.Vil, did exist in MS. form in the Kāñcī, Mutt Library. He had promised me to try to get them for me but he died even before going to Kāñcī and the matter ended there only.

Lastly Shri R.G. Sharma has said specifically and clearlly that the second part of Br.Ś.V. viz., शङ्कराचार्यसत्पथ, died exist in MS. form in the Dvārakā Mutt Library[9] and though he says tht if this work is what it is claimed to be, a biography of Śaṅkarācārya by his contemporary and disciple, it will have to be considered to be authoritative,[10] he has made no effort to bring it to light. And, yet, he chooses to describe it as 'unknown and untraced' (अनजान और अनुपलब्ध).

Even about Śan.Vil. by Vākpati Bhaṭṭa, Shri R.G. Sharma had told me personally that a MS. of the same did exist then (1961) in the Lahore Oriental Library (Now Punjab University Library) and that he had procured from them two paper - MSS. of the said work. Inspite of my repeated requests to him, he has not obliged me with even one of the two copies he had. I tried my best to contact the said Library personally, through the J.N. Library, Bombay I.C.H.R., New Delhi and even at the highest Central Govt., level, but have not succeeded in getting even a formal acknowledgement from the said Library.

One Swāmi Sakhyānanda from Trichur, Kerala State, has also written to me that he had seen and gone through the Śan.Vil. about 40 years ago and he has given a detailed account of the life of Abhi. Śaṅkarācārya on the basis of the same, in his book in Malayalam Árṣabhārata Pāramparyam. His account confirms what Shri T.S.N. Sastry has said about the mixing up of the life-accounts, of Ādi Śaṅkara and Abhi. Śankara.

My point in dilating upon these three works in particular is only to show that these works, which are said to give some very different chronological information about Śaṅkarācārya are not mere names nor is it necessary to say that all the stanzas quoted in Suṣamā or by Shri Sastry are their own concoction only. Even then it will have to be admitted that till these works become available to scholars for their inspection and critical study, no definite theory can be based on nor any definite conclusion be drawn from the quoted stanzas. At the most, the quotations can have only a tentative value as suggesting somewhat uniformly one theory about Śaṅkarācārya's life span, for whatever it may be worth. Those who, on the basis of these works and hte other Mutt records, take Śaṅkarācārya's life-span 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as conclusively proved or settled are only begging the question.

Regarding Jina Vijaya and the Jain works from which stanzas have been quoted in San.Can. we have first to remember that the person who quoted them for the first time was a very responsible person and a great Sanskrit scholar and had no particular interest in proving any particular theory about the chronology of any person. Yet, it is very unfortunate that he has

given no further details about the sources of the stanzas quoted by him.[12]

I have personally tried to ascertain the identity of 'Jina Vijaya' from Jain sadhus as well as Jain scholars all of whom told me that Jina V. was the name of a person only and not the name of any work in Jain literature. The maximum I was able to gather about 'Jina' was that the stanzas as from 'Jina' were likely to have been from a magazine (or a fortnight) called Jina Vijaya which used to be published from Sangli from 1902 to 1911 A.D. (Shri Appashastri Rashivadekar died in 1913 A.D.) to be merged later into only one called Pragati and then jointly called 'Pragati and Jinavijaya'. I have contacted personally the Sangli headquarters of the magazine but with no success.

As for the Jain works (Granthas) mentioned and quoted from by Shastri beyond the statement in the Bhāratīya Prācīna Aitihāsika Kośa by Shri R.B. Godbole (Modern Period - Arvācīna Khaṇḍa) that the Jain works were likely to be the Prabandha works in Jain literature, no further information was available. At the instance of the great Jain scholar, Dr. H.C. Bhayani I went through a number of Prabandha works [13] but all to no purpose. And, once again, till the original sources of these stanzas become available to us, no definite theory can be based on them. At the most, they may be said to corroborate independently the 6th century B.C. theory based on the Mutt-records.

Regarding King Sudhanvan's Copperplate also the same has not come to light so far. I had approached Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for help in my research and at his instance, the then Central Education Ministry had instructed the Bombay Govt., to do the needful in the matter. As, however, I was unable to furnish to them any further details than that the said coppoerplate was then said to be in the possession of the Bombay Govt., they expressed their inability to help me in the matter. Later, i.e. in 1961 A.D. I tried to get the details from Shri Manjulal Sevaklal Dave, the Dvārakā Mutt advocate who while giving them wrotet to me to say that "The copperplate inscription might have been destroyed by the Court as the party producing it had not taken (it) away during the prescribed time or it was not produced at all (which seems to be true from reading the papers preserved)." At his instance only I referred to 11 Bomay Law Reporter, Vol.IX, pp.58 to 68, wherein the plaintiff (Mādhava-tīrta) was said to have produced Mathāmnāya only and nothing else to prove his title, there being no reference to Sudhanva's grant or to any other grant being produced in the Court.

Prof. Venkatachalam of Vikram University, Ujjain wrotet some years ago a very learned and critical article bearing on this copperplate.[14] He argued therein that if the copperplate really belonged to the 5th century B.C., it must have been written in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script. This script was first deciphered in 1837 A.D. - only 60 years before the publication of Vimarśa, in which it was given in full (in Devanāgarī script). He then wonders as to who could have read and explained the text to the Swamiji, who wrote Vimarśa about 1898 A.D. The Swamiji is silent

about the script, which itself should have decided the real antiquity or otherwise of the plate. If the plate is in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script of 5th century B.C. it will have claim to antiquity. If it is not, the 5th or 6th century B.C. date for Śaṅkarācārya has no solid foundation.[14a]

Regarding Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Nepal, Prof. Umesh has analysed the contents, 15 chronological as well as factual, of the Nepāli Vaṁśāvali and has concluded that though the same can at its best and in its later portions be used for listing the names of kings, it is completely unreliable for assigning dates and describing events and hence to use it to fix the date of Śaṅkarācārya is wholly unjustifiable. He has also produced at the end of his book a letter (xerox copy) from the Govt., of Nepal stating that they have no record showing the visit of Śaṅkarācārya to Nepal during 400 - 500 B.C. Without any desire to attempt any justification of the Nepāla Vaṁśāvali, I wish to make the following observations :

i. If the Nepal Govt. has officially denied having any record of Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Nepal, no other argument was required to be advanced, at least so far as the question of deciding Śaṅkarācārya's age on the basis of the Vaṁśāvali was concerned. The denial itself nips the whole issue in the bud at least with regard to the Vaṁśāvali.

ii. Shri Bhagwanlal Indraji or Dr. Bühler has mentioned in clear language that according to the Nepāla Vaṁśāvali only, Śaṅkarācārya visited Nepal during the reign of King Vṛṣadevavarman, whose time in history is then sought to be determined with reference to the inscriptions of king Śivadevavarman of the same dynasty as Vṛṣa. Either the Nepal Govt. records are deficient or the second statement is wrong / false.

iii. Prof. Umesh, who analyses so critically the contents of the Vaṁsāvali, does not say a word about the manner in which the Vaṁśāvali is sought to be interpreted and then used by Dr. Bühler. A couple of examples may be noted :

a) He disbelieves the number of 1118 years allotted to the 29 kings of the Kirāta dynasty on the basis of "Statistical tables of the life insurance companies" (of the 19th century), when Arrian & Megasthenes and even V. Smith testify to Indians living long lives of 100 and more years in those ancient times.

b) King Aṁśuvarman, the 1st king of the 6th Thakuri dynasty has been identified with King Amshu-fo-mo, mentioned by Hieun Tsang whose "visit to Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A.D." From this it follows, according to Dr. Bühler, that king Aṁśu must have reigned in the first half of the 7th century of our era.

Now, an inscription of King Śivadevavarman, the 27th king of the 5th Suryavaṁsī dynasty bears the date 119 Harṣa Saṁvat. Dr. Bühler identified this Harṣa Saṁvat with the one started

in 606 A.D. by king Harṣavardhana of Kanoj, the hero of Bāṇā's Ākhyāyikā Harṣacarita. This gives 725 A.D. as the date of King Śivadevavarman.

This means that a king of an earlier dynasty comes nearly a 100 years after a king of the following dynasty. Secondly, history knows no era founded by King Harṣavardhana of Kanoj and I have ascertained this from some eminent history scholars. A person, who is otherwise very critical about others, is expected to have said at least something about these points.[16]

A very important objection to the 6th century B.C. theory is that if Śaṅkarācārya is placed so early, the dates of many of his predecessors and successors in time, e.g. Kumārila, Maṇḍana / Sure., Buddha Dharmakīrtī, Dinnāga, Akalaṅka, Samantabhadra and many others become completly upset and at least as far as the present state of scholarship is concerned, these writers cannot be assigned to any B.C. period, in fact to any period before the 5th century A.D. Śaṅkarācārya's date, therefore, depends upon the dates of so many Hindu, Jain and Buddhist writers. Prof. R.M. Umesh has tried to examine and abalyse, - apart from other topics like the Mutt-records, date of Aśoka and Buddha, the Purāṇas and the Guptas and so on - the relationship between the predecessors and successors of Śaṅkarācārya by having course to their works and has come to the following conclusions.[17]

1. Gauḍa, the grant preceptor of Śaṅkarācārya certainlly came after Nāgā. (not earlier than the 1st century B.C.), Asaṅga (not later than the 3rd Century A.D.), Yeśomitra, the commentator of Vasubandhu's Abhidharma Kośa (about 5th century A.D.) and Śantarkṣita (about the middle of the 8th century A.D.). Hence, Gauḍa is definitely not earlier than the 6th century A.D. possibly between 525 A.D. and 725 A.D.

2. Kumā said to have been a senior contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya attacks Samanta. (not earlier than the first century A.D.), quotes from Bhartṛhari (not earlier than 5th century A.D.), attacks and is attacked by Dharma. (and so-contemporaries) and hence neither is earlier than the second half of the 6th century A.D. is attacked by Śānta. (middle of the 8th Century A.D.) and by Akalaṅka (middle of the 8th century A.D.). Hence Kumā, is not earlier than the 5th century A.D. (Bhartṛ) and not later than the middle of the 8th century A.D. Then, again, Kumā, and Prabhākara were contemporaries. Prabhā refers to Bhartṛ (5th century A.D.) and knew Dharma. (6th century A.D.) and so both Kumā, and Prabhā are not earlier than 6th century A.D.

3. Sure, attacks Dharma, and quotes from the work of Kumā and hence he must have come after the 7th century A.D. He was also a senior contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya.

4. Śaṅkarācārya himself attacks Dharma. (6th century A.D.) and refers to Dinnāga (6th century A.D.) and hence has to be placed after the 6th century A.D.

5. Sarvajñātman, said to be the disciple of Sure. and also one of the pontiffs of the Kāñcī. Mutt, refers to his Guru Paramparā as देवेश्वर (गुरु), देवानन्द (परमगुरु) and श्रेष्टानंद (परात्परगुरु) which is entirely different from सुरेश्वर-शंकरा.-गोविन्दमुनि as claimed by the said Mutt.

6. Ānandajñāna, said to be the 6th pontiff of the Kāñcī. Mutt refers to a commentary Prakaṭārtha on the BSBH. and this commentary refers to Udayana who lived in the 10th century A.D.

   Both Sarva. and Ānanda, must therefore have lived after thte 5th or 6th century the latter even after the 10th century A.D. as against the very early B.C. dates (338 B.C. and 55 B.C.) assigned to them in the list of the Kāñcī. Mutt.

The ultimate conclusion of Prof. Umesh is that in view of the evidence put forward by him, Śaṅkarācārya has to be placed in the A.D. period only and not at all in any B.C. period. He disposes of the two A.D. theories viz., 788 A.D. and 805 A.D. as b eing untenable and gives it as his (personal) opinion that Śaṅkarācārya could not hae flourished later than the 7th or the end of the 7th century A.D. He should have flourished in the 7th century A.D.

In connection with this same topic viz., Śaṅkarācārya's date, Prof. Umesh has discussed the dates of Aśoka, the Gupta Kings and Buddha and Mahāvīra and tried to show that a revision of these dates as proposed by some recent native scholars is not borne out by evidence and hence do not need to be upset. In the case of Buddha and Mahā, he maintains that they were contemporaries beyond doubt and though Buddha's date may be 100 years here and there, it can certainly not be as early as the 19th century B.C. as said by these native scholars.

Prof. H. Nakamura has made a similar attempt to arrive at the date of Śaṅkarācārya by correlating it to the dates i.e., possible or probable periods of philosophers before and after Śaṅkarācārya. 18 His arguments in brief are :

Firstlly, Prof. Nakamura discusses the earlier theories about Śaṅkarācārya's date, such as 788 A.D., two Kerala theories 400 A.D., and 805 A.D., middle of the 7th century A.D. as based on the Nepāla Vaṁśāvali one pertaining to king Manukulāditya mentioned in Saṅkṣepa Śārī. because the identity of the king is doubtful and the one based on certain names of persons like Pūrṇavarman, Balavarman and cities like Srughna, Pātaliputra, Mathurā, etc., and sets them aside as inconclusive.

i. Then he first considers post-Śaṅkarācārya philosophers. Thus, Vācaspati attacks Bhāskara who attacks Śaṅkarācārya. One Śrī Vatsānka is said to lie between Śaṅkarācārya and Bhā. Vācas wrote his Nyāyasūcī in 841 A.D. Hence, Bhā. was earlier and Śaṅkarācārya still earlier Śaṅkarācārya can then be put between 700 - 750 A.D.

ii. Sure. is quoted by Vidyānanda who is mentioned by Jinasena and Prabhācandra. Jina.

wrote his Harivaṁśa Purāna in 783 A.D. and refers to Prabhā. who is then his senior contemporary. So Vidyā. can be placed in 750 - 800 and Sure. about 750 A.D. Śaṅkarācārya is then placed in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

Śaṅkarācārya refers to Dharma whose active period is from 634 A.D. to 673 A.D. Śaṅkarācārya therefore, comes later.

Kumā, cites Kālidāsa, who belongs to 400 - 460 A.D. or 410 - 470 A.D. Hence, Kumā. is later than 500 A.D. Similarly Kumā. quotes from Vākyapadīya of Bhartr., who lived between 450 - 500 A.D. Hence, Kumā. can roughly be placed in the middle of the 7th century A.D.

Then, we find stanzas frm Śloka-Vārtika of Kumā. quoted by Sure. Vidyā., Prabhā., Sānta., Kamalaśīla, disciple of Śanta. who died about 750 A.D. and hence, Śanta. came before 740 A.D. Hence Kumā. could not be prior to 720 A.D. Kumā. can be placed between 650 A.D. and 700 A.D.

Lastly, Sure. came after Maṇḍana, who can be placed from 670 A.D. to 720 A.D. Sure. being earlier can, therefore, be placed about 710 - 770 A.D. and Śaṅkarācārya coming one generation earlier can be placed about 700 - 750 A.D.

The conclusion of Shri Nakamura is that Śaṅkarācārya must have been active in the early part of the 8th century A.D.

I feel constrained to remark that some points at least in the reasoning of Shri Nakamura leave room for sufficient doubt, but he is in general agreement with Prof. Umesh and others, who hold with certainty that Śaṅkarācārya did not belong to any B.C. period, that he cannot be placed before 500 A.D. in any case and that he can be reasonably placed somewhere between 650 A.D. and 750 A.D. The textual evidence from the works of a number of writers, which include Jain and Buddhists on a large scale, is quite strong, almost massive and unless and until it is answered satisfactorily point by point, it will be next to impossible to maintain a very early date for Śaṅkarācārya particularly in the B.C. period. The Mutt records, which are the mainstay of B.C. theory have been shown to be utterly unreliable and the protagonists of that theory, though aware of the criticism, have offered no satisfactory arguments to prove the records. To take for granted, therefore, that 509 - 477 B.C. date for Śaṅkarācārya is conclusively proved is begging the question. Similarly, the voluminous evidence of the predecessors and successors of Śaṅkarācārya which has been adduced by scholars, has been sought to be negatived by ante-dating King Aśoka or Candragupta Maurya by about a thousand years, Lord Buddha and even mahā. by about 1300 years and then fixing the dates of these predecessors and successors on the basis of their revised dates, but except the evidence of

Kalhana's Rājataraṅginī and the various Purāṇas which do not at all give a consistent record of earlier kings and events, nothing has been brought forward to upset the existing chronology. Very strong evidence will be required for the purpose. In spite of all this, I wish to place the following few points before scholars for their serious consideration.

The whole discussion about the ancient Indian chronology centres round the identity of Sandrakottus and Candra. Maurya, first proposed by Sir William Jones and accepted by Max Müller as the sheet-anchor of Indian history. All the ancient Indian chronology was then arranged accordingly and that has affected the modern Indian chronology also. This identity has been questioned ever since its inception by persons like M. Troyer, but the points raised against it have not been seriously considered, examined and / or attempted to be answered by students of history. Shri Shriram Sathe has very recently advanced a number of arguments against thte theory as follows:[19]

1. Greek accounts mention three names, viz., Xandrames or Agrammes, Sandrakottus and Sandracyptus, as three successive kings. If so, the first and the third names should refer to Candra's predecessor and successor. According to known history, the predecessor of Candra. Maurya was Dhanānanda of the Nanda dynasty, while the successor of Candra. Maurya was Bindusāra. Now, neither Dhanānanda nor Bindusāra tallies with Xandrames or Sandracyptus respectively. M. Müller has, however, suggested the first identity and proposed the second.

   On the contrary, Xandrames tallies far better with Candramas, the predecessor of Gupta Candra., while Sandracyptus or Amitrochades, as this name has been given alternatively, tallies better with Samudragupta, the successor of Gupta Candra than with Hindusāra.

2. Sandra is said to have married the Greek princes, Selukus Nikator's daughter and entered into a treaty with him. He is also said by the Greek accounts to have intimate relations with the then Magadha queen and then to have killed the previous king viz., Candramas and become the king of Magadha. All this accords with the Indian account of Gupta Candra. and not with Maurya Candra.

3. If Sandra. of Megas. is Candra. Maurya, it is surprising that Megas. makes no reference whatsoever to the predecessor Nandas, their general Rākṣasa or even to Cāṇakya, the architect of Candra.'s accession to the throne. Similarly, there is not only no reference in Megas. to Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra, but Otto Stem has shown a number of points of difference between Kauṭilya and Megas.

4. Then, again it is surprising that, if Candra. Maurya were the contemporary of Alexan-

der, the Nandas and even Candra. with the vast and very powerful army both are said to have possessed should have kept quiet or remain unnoticed by Alex. or Megas. or other historians like Plutarch. It is also surprising that so astute a politician should have ignored the threat to the country and should have concentrated on internccine feuds and personal revenges at the cost of country's freedom. On the contrary when Alex. heard about the terrifically vast army of the kings of Gangaridae and Prassians, his army was in no mood to fight and Alex. had to return.

5. Shri Pandit Bhagavadatta has tried and tried well to s how how the equation of Pālibothra in Megas. with Pāṭaliputra (Modern Pātṇā) by Sir William Jones, is also not correct. According to him, it agrees better with an ancient Indian Kingdom called Prabhadra, Prabhadraka or Paribhadra, near that of the Pāñcālas and which like Pāli. of Megas. has Yamunā flowing through it than with Pātaliputra but to justify the identity, Jones has to identify the river Śoṇa with Eranaoboas and say that Megas. has mentioned these two rivers separately through mistake or inattention.

The date of Aśoka Maurya, the grandson of Candra. Maurya, has been fixed with reference to that of the latter. Regarding this Aśoka, we find that apart from other persons like Kālāśoka, Vītaśoka and Caṇḍāśoka we have Aśoka Maurya and Aśoka in Kalhaṇa's Rāja. Modern historians have identified the last two, while Kalhaṇa seems to hold that they are distinct. The historians give their time as 272 B.C. on the basis of this identification. Prof. Umesh has upheld this date of Aśoka as the correct one. However, the following points deserve to be noted in this connection.

i. The traditional date of Aśoka Maurya as per the Purāṇic accounts is the 15th century B.C. while Kalhaṇa gives the date of Kāśmīra Aśoka as 1182 B.C.

ii. The antecedents of K. Aśoka and his progeny are quite different from those of Aśoka M. Relying on the writing of Padmamihira, based on chronicles of Helarāja, K. Aśoka is said to be the son of Śanicara, the last of the 8 kings. Aśoka's son was Jalauka whose son was Dāmodara II. On the contrary, Aśoka M.is said to have been the son of Bindusāra, while his own son is said to be Tīvara by the second queen Cāruvākī or a son Mahendra and a daughter Saṅghamitrā or a son Kuṇāla by Asandhimitrā.

iii. Aśoka M. belonged to Magadha, while K. Aśoka belonged to Kāśmīra. It is worth nothing that the extensive Rock and Pillar edicts of Aśoka M. make not the slightest reference to Kāsmīra or the Kāśmīra kingdom, while Kalhaṇa's work makes no mention of K. Aśoka's connection with Magadha or any Indian territory.

A lot of discussion centres round the five kings mentioned in Aśoka's Rock edict No. 13 in particular. Western scholars have identified them with Greek kings from 285 B.C. to 244 B.C. Aśoka's date is then automatically settled. These kings are said to be reigning about 600 Yojanas (every Yojana about 8 miles) and the king is said in the edict to open medical centres for human beings and animals in the kingdoms of those kings. In this connection some points have been raised as follows.[20]

a) In the first place, the names of all the kings as identified with the Greek kings are not beyond doubt. The identity of Turamāya with Ptolemy is an instance in point. Bühler himself doubts the identity of Amtikona with Antigonus.

b) No Greek historian connects these names with Candra. or Aśoka.

c) History does not bear out the spread of Buddhists to Greek regions nor that the Christian emissaries had to encounter the Buddhists in Greem and Roman countries.

d) Indian or Ceylonese tradition does not say that Aśoka had sent his emissaries to Greek or Roman (Egypt) countries. Personally I have gave doubts whether Aśoka had so much influence with such very far off countries as to be able to open such centres of medical help. Maybe, as argued by Prof. Umesh that there is no evidence that kings mentioned in the edict did really rule the territories like Abhisāra etc., the distance of 600 Yojanas mentioned in the edict does not at all apply to these territories. Yet the points made out above also deserve some attention.

Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry has also discussed the identity of Sandra. and Candra. Maurya, which he calls "The Mistaken Greek Synchronism of Indian History" (of which it has been called by Max Muller "the sheet-anchor") and has brought forward a number of objections against its acceptance. None of these objections has so far been answered satisfactorily by any scholar, Western or Indian, as far as I am aware.

Shri Sastry has discussed at great length another topic, which he calls the Persian Synchronism, which has a great bearing on ancient Indian Chronology. Therin he seems to have proved almost conclusively that expressions like शककाल, शकभूष / भूपतिकाल, शकनृप / नृपतिकाल or समय even or शाके occurring often in ancient Indian literature cannot be identified with Śalivāhana Śaka, but has to be construed to mean the Śaka Era, started by the Persian King Cyrus the Great, to commemorate his victory over the Medes, in which he was greatly assisted by the Hindu King with both "men and money". This Era was then adopted and used by the Indians also for recording their own events in history. It was, however, wronglyl identified by the then Orientalists with the

Śāli. Ś., which resulted in interpreting all Śaka reckon ings of शककाल etc., in terms of the Śāli. Ś., thereby post-dating many events in Indian history by about 628 years. He points out two or three cases of this type as follows :

1) Varāhamihira, the great astronomer, gives 427 of शककाल as the year of the composition of his work पञ्चसिद्धान्त टीका. This comes to 123 B.C. if शककाल - 550 B.C. but to 505 A.D. if शक - Śāli, Ś. (- 78 A.D.). Similarlyl, Varāha.'s death is said to have taken place in 509 of शककाल, which comes to 41 B.C. if शक = 550 B.C., but to 587 A.D. if शककाल - Śāli. Ś.

Now Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of पञ्चसि.टी. says at the end of his commentary of Varāha.'s बृहज्जातक that the same was written in *** 888, which comes to 338 A.D. if शक - 550 B.C, but to 966 A.D. if शक - Śāli.Ś. In the latter case, however, the other particular viz., शुक्ल ५ of चैत्र (of 888) do not tally, but they tally with 338 A.D. If now the commentary on Varāha.'s work was written in 338 A.D., the work itself must have existed prior to it and then Varāha., the author, could not have written पञ्चसि.टी. in 505 A.D. or continued to live up to 587 A.D. This means that शक must be taken to mean शककाल - 550 B.C. only and not Śāli.Ś.

To avoid this conclusion, Shri Sudhakara Dwivedi alters the stanza so as to suit the Śāli.Ś. reckoning, but elsewhere he mentions, though grudgingly the very same particulars as in the earlier version of the stanza.

2) One Bhāskara, son of one Mahādeva and author of a work सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि says that he was born in शाक 1036 or of शकनृपतिसमय, that he completed सि.शि. in शाक 1072 and सि.शि 1105. Now, these three figures will come to 486 A.D., 522 A.D. and 555 A.D. respectivelyl, if शाक = शककाल - 550 B.c., but to 1114 A.D., 1150 A.D. mentions Bhāskara and says that his करणसार (i.e. करणसिद्धान्त) was known in the country in 899 A.D.

Weber admits clearly that he cannot solve this riddle and then says that Albe.'s Bhāskara must be different from the other Bhāskara, both sons of Mahādeva, but first the author of करणसिद्धान्त and the second (of Albe.) the author of करणसार. He does not at all bother to consider or show even prima facie, if there were two such Bhāskara with father having the same name and two works करणसिद्धान्त and करणसार. Further comment is needless.

Shri Sastry has similarlly discussed at great length the famous Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, Cālukya, and shown how the two stanzas "त्रिंशत्सु सिहस्रेषु.." upto "शकानामपि भूभुजाम्" can be interpreted correctly only by taking the reference in the second stanza pertaining to the Śaka Era of 550 B.C. and not to Śāli.Ś. and how the expression सहाब्दशतयुगतेषु in the second line of the first stanza has been deliberately altered to सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु so as to conform to the Śāli.Ś. reckoning.

Finally, Shri Sastry refers to the admission of Shri V. Gopala Aiyer that the शककाल must be placed at least 5 centuries before Christ, but then suggests that the शककाल in the famous verse of

वृद्धगर्ग in Kalhana's Rāja. must be a mistake by Kalhaṇa for शाक्यकाल, which probably denoted the passing away of शाक्यमुनि i.e., गौतमबुद्ध Even like Weber's suggestion mentioned earlier in the case of Bhārgava, this suggestion also deserves no better consideration. Both disclose a mainfestly persevering motive and attempt to preserve and maintain a particular theory at any cost, whatever the evidence to the contrary.[20a]

Lastly, I wish to point out that Megas.'s Indika mentions two names, viz., Mandanis and Kalynos, not once but a number of times.[21] These two have been mentioned as philosophers at the time of Alex. Out of these, Kalynos is said to have burnt himself on a funeral pile and that the people saw him burnt.[22] The reference to Mandanis as a philosopher is clearer still. If Sandra. can be philologically equated with Candra., we have to explain these two names also, occurring in the work of the same author.

I wish to refer to one more point only. Prof. Umesh has stated that Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explicitly refers to Prabhā. who, according to Prof. Umesh, is a contemporary of Kumā. For determining the date of Hari, he quotes one stanza[23] from his Bhāṣya saying that he completed the same when 3740 years fo the Kali Age had clapsed i.e., in 638 A.D. Shri Udayavir Shastri has, however, pointed out that the stanza can be interpreted in a different way also, so as to give 3047 years of the Kali Age clapsed - 55 B.C. (3102 - 3047 = 55 B.C.). To determine which of the two interpretations is correct, he quotes another stanza occurring at the beginning of his Bhāsya[24] which says tht he was the Dharmādhyakṣa in the kingdom of king Vikramārka, king of Ujjain. Shastri argues that we have no trace of any king Vikramārka at Ujjain in 638 A.D. Obviously this is a reference to Vikramārka of Vikrama Saṁvat of 57 B.C. If now Hari belongs to the first century B.C., Prabhā. will have to be earlier - how much, it cannot be said.

**Concluding Remarks :** The treatment of the subject is not claimed to be exhaustive. The topic is vast and so is the evidence voluminous. I have just presented, as objectively as I could, salient points in the evidence and arguments pertaining to the pre-Christian date for Śaṅkaracārya (specifically 509 - 477 B.C.) and the post - Christian date for Śaṅkaracārya ranging from 550 or 600 A.D. to 750 A.D. The traditionists hold with some kind of vehemence the first theory, while the modern scholars favour the second. Unless and until the pivotal dates in ancient Indian history such as the dates of Candra. Maurya, Aśoka and Buddha and Mahā., as per the traditionists, cannot be proved with more conclusive evidence than has been adduced so far, Śaṅkaracārya will continue to be assigned to some date from 600 A.D. to 750 A.D. At least works like Bṛ.Ś.V. of Cit., Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandajñanā and Śan.Vil. of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa must come to light.

The root of all this controversy seems to lie in the tendency of the early Western scholars,

whom the Native scholars also follow. What, at one time, was considered to be just an emotional and nationalistic outlook on the aprt of the traditionists, now seems to have some kernel of truth. It has been shown and is being shown with increasing force that in the early stages of the study of Indian history, the Western scholars were actuated by a strong desire to bring down the antiquity of India's past and consequently, their approach was more religion-oriented than academically oriented. Thus, these scholars had been taught that the whole creation was started in about 4004 B.C.[25] and hence could not accept that Indian history extends far beyond that limit. Max Muller, writing to his wife, says tht his writing and translation of the Veda is going to have great impact on the future of India. Veda is the root of the Hindu religion and to show how that root is perverted is the only way of destroying their ancient religion (1866). In 1868, he writes to the Duke of Argoil, the then Indian minister, to the effect that "this is the time for Christianity to step in. If it does not, whose fault will it be?"[26] Lastlly, when the identity of Sandra. and Candra. Maurya was advanced by Jones and was objected to by M. Troyer, he says, "We shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Candra. (of course) and Sandra. is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt."[27] Whenever there is a variety of dates, their tendency is to accept lowest i.e., the latest date possible. There may be variations in the computation of time as per the Purāṇas, but how injustice has been done to old dynastics (1118 years for 29 kings) has been indicated laready. As said by a very great Indologist of India, the new theories e.g., identity of Sandra. with Gupta Candra. may not have solved all the problems of India's past history, but new problems started by these theories are also not solved by te old presumptions. New research is challenging the old theories like the word 'Arya' meaning a race[28] and the Aryan Invasion theories and people have said that in saying that Arya denoted a race, Max Müller was motivated politically rather than academically.[29] It is high time, therefore, that the leading historians sit together and try an onjective reappraisal of ancient Indian history. Till then, the present state of indecision and vontroversy will continue.

**Abbreviations (arranged in English Alphabetical order)**

1. Abhi.Śaṅ. = Abhinava Śaṅkara

1a. Albe. = Alberuni

2. Alex. = Alexander

2a. Aṁśu. = Aṁśuvarman

3. Ananda = Anandajñāna Anandagiri
3a. Aśoka M. = Aśoka Maurya
4. Bhartṛ = Bhartṛhari
5. Bhartr = Bhāskara
6. Br.Ś.V. - Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya
7. BSBH. = Brahma Sūtra Bhāsya
8. Candra = Candragupta
9. Cit. = Citsukhācārya
10. Dvā. = Dvārakā;
11. Dharma = Dharmakīrti
12. Gauḍa = Gauḍapāda
13. G.R.M. = Guru Ratnas Mālikā
14. Gov. = Govindamuni
15. Hari. = Harisvāmi
16. Jina = Jinasena
17. Jina V. = Jina Vijaya
18. K. Aśoka = Kāśmīra Aśoka
19. Kāñcī. Mutt = Kañcī Kāmakoṭi Mutt
20. Kumā = Kumārila Bhaṭṭa
21. Mahā = Mahāvira
22. Mbh. = Mahābhārata
23. Megas. = Megasthenes
24. Nāgā = Nāgārjuna
25. Patañ. = Patañjali
26. Pāli. = Pālibothra
27. Prabhā = Prabhākara / Prabhācandra
28. Pr.Ś.V. = Prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya
29. P.Ś.M. = Puṇya Śloka Mañjarī
30. Rāj. = Rajataraṅgiṇī (of Kalhaṇa)
31. Śaṅ. = Śaṅkarācarya
32. Śaṅ. Vil. = Śaṅkarendra Vilāsa.
32a. Śali.Ś. = Śalivāhana Śaka

33. Santa. = Sāntarakṣita
34. Śrn̄. = Śṛṅgeri
35. Ś.V. = Śaṅkara Vijaya
36. Samanta. = Samantabhadra
37. San. Can. = Sanskrit Candrikā
38. Saṅkṣepa Śārī = Saṅkṣepa Śarīraka
39. Saṅ. Śaṅ. Jaya = Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya
40. Sandra. = Sandrakottus
40a. Sarva. = Sarvajñatman
41. Sure. = Sureśvara
41a. Varāha. = Varāha-Mihira
42. Vasu. = Vasubandhu
43. Vācas. = Vācaspati
44. Vākya. = Vākyapadiya
45. Vidyā = Bidyānanda
46. Vyā = Vyāsācala
47. Yudhi.Śaka = Yudhiṣthira Śaka
48. *** = ***
49. *** = ***

**Notes and References**

1. Vide 1 A. (Indian Antiquary) Vol.IX. 1880
2. For these, see - 1. Gitā-Rahasya by Tilak.
   2. Article in Marathi Monthly Sahyādri. Dec. 46, Vaze.

3. I.A. - Vol.XIII - Date of Śaṅ.by K.T. Telang.
4. JSMV - Jagadguru Śaṅkara Mutt Vimarśa by Shri Raja Sharma and also by him 'K.K. Mutt, a muth.'
5. A History of Early Vedanta Philosophy by Hajime Nakamura, pp. 48 to 89.
6. B.O.R.I. Annals - Vol. IXX - Fernanda Tola - pp.37 to 46.
7. Śaṅkara's Date by Prof. R.M. Umesh.

2a. Read भूतेन्द्रयाङ्गनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशाकस्य वै।
वैशाखे शुक्लमे पक्षे दशम्यां शोम्यां शोभति दिने ॥ १५ ॥

3. Vide his book "Age of Śaṅkara" by T.S. Narayan Sastry.

4. Vide the Marathi fortnightly Acārya dt.13.5.1916, p.15.

5. Shri S.D. Kulkarni quotes in his Marathi book 'नवल उदेला चंडांशु' one stanza as from Ś.V. of Vyā., IV : 21, giving 508 - 509 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkaracārya's birth. The stanza is :

अब्धेः कलेरनलवर्पशराक्षिसंख्ये। श्रीनन्दने दिनमणाबुदगध्यभाग्जि।
राधेऽधिपंचमातिश्रवसितेतरायाम्। करे खेऽदितिशुभे शुभयोगयुक्ते।

However, this stanza is not found in the edition of Vyā.'s Ś.V. printed by the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, which had prepared the edition by collating 6 MSS. from different places.

6. Vide Sans. Candrika - Vol. V: 2, p.6.

7. Alberuni has converted every era into Yazdajird era of Persians with reference to the year 400 Yazdajird = 1031 A.D. and then given 1031 = Śri Harṣa Era = 1488 = 457 B.C.

8. The stanza quoted as from Śan. Vil. Vākpati Bhaṭṭa is :

हायनेऽथ निभवे वृषमासे। शुक्लपक्षदशामीदिनमध्ये।
शेवधिद्विपदिशानलवर्षे। तिप्य एनमुदसोष्ट विशिष्टा॥

9. Vide R.G. Sharma's JSMV - p. 246.

10. Ibid. p. 145 and yet he says that the work is unknown and not available Vide Ibid. p. 114.

11. In spite of all this, Shri Sharma says that this work is not available anywhere. Vide JSMV, p.257.

12. The earliest trace of these stanzas from Jain literature is to be found in R.B. Godbold's

भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक कोश-अर्बाचीन खण्ड. But beyond saying that they belong to Jain Prabhandhas, he gives no further particulars.

13. The works consulted by me were :

i) विविधतीर्थकल्प, (ii) पुरातनप्रबन्धसङ्ग्रह, (iii) बृहत्कथाकोश (हरिषेण), (iv) कथाकोशप्रकरण (प्रा.) - जिनेश्वरसूरि (v) प्रभावकचरित (प्रभाचन्द्रसूरि) (vi) दिग्विजय महाकाव्य (मेघयिजय), (vii) अकलङ्क ग्रन्थग्रयी, (viii) जैनपुस्तकप्रशारितसङ्ग्रह.

14. Vide Śri Sureśvarācarya Adhiṣthāna Jirṇoddhāraṇa Kumbhābhiṣekam : Śṛngeri Souvenir 10.5.1970.

14a. The learned professor's remark, however, that the 5th century B.C. date for Śaṅkaracārya and the evidence of this plate have been upheld by me and incorporated in my thesis and approved by a reputed University like the University of Poona, presided over by eminent Indologists is both malicious and far from truth (Vide his footnote on p.103). I have nowhere upheld the said date nor the evidence of the plate. I have only stated it as one of the pieces of evidence, put forward by those who uphold the 6th century B.C. as the date of Śaṅkaracārya which also has only been stated by me as one of the dates proposed for Śaṅkaracārya and which required to be stated and / or discussed at length. Obviously, the professor has made the remark without himself going through my thesis in the original.

15. Vide Śaṅkara's Date by Prof. R.M. Umesh 4:2 pp.119 to 131

16. For all this discussion, vide I.A. Vol.13 Dec. 1884 pp. 411 to 428.

17. For all the following discussion by Prof.R.M. Umesh, vide his book Śaṅkaṛa's Date.

18. For Shri Nakamura's arguments, vide his book "A History of Early Vedānta Philosophy" pp.48 to 89.

19. Vide book : "Is Sandrakottus Candragupta Maurya?" by Shri Shriram Sathe.

20. These points have been taken by me from Shri S.D. Kulkarni's book in Marathi नवल उदेला चंडांशु, pp. 218, 219.

20a. All the discussion above pertaining to the two Synchronisms has been taken from Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry's book. "The Mistaken Greek Synchronism in Indian History" available in National Library, Belvedere, Calcutta - 7.

21. Bide "Ancient India as described by Megas and Arrian" Trans. by J.W. Mckrindle, pp. 106 / 7, 116 / 7, 123 / 4, 127 - 129.

22. Ibid. p. 138 and the long footnote on the same page.

23. The stanza is यदाऽब्दानां कलेर्जऽमुः सप्त त्रिंशाच्छतानि वै।
चत्वारिशांत्समाश्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम्॥

24. The stanza is श्रीमतोऽबन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्याच्छातपथीं श्रुतिम्॥

25. Lord Elphinstone in his book, "History of India" says that to take the history of ancient India prior to the time calculation given in the Bible (4004 B.C.) is to accept that the Bible is wrong. We have, therefore, to bring down the Indian historical calculation so as to be more consistent with our notions. Vol.IV. Ch.3.

26. The letter was dated 16.12.1868.

27. Vide History of ancient Sanskrit (Indian) Literature, by Max Müller, p. 145.

28. Vide Organiser, Republic Day Special, Jan. 23, 1994. "It was politics then, it is politics now' by Dr. N.S. Rajaram, pp.19 - 22.

## SANKARA'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE GīTA BHAṢYA (GBH.)

Very recently, my attention was drawn to three articles blearing on the authorship of the GBh. 1 All the three are agreed that Śaṅkaracārya was thte author of the GBh. though all of them have applied different tests to arrive at the same conclusion. The three articles may be noted briefly as follows :

**1. The assignment of Mr. Paul Hacker is :**

All the works attributed to Śaṅkaracārya could not have been written by him. Many of them were possibly written by the heads of the mutts established by him and who bore the title Śaṅkaracārya. Some of these heads distinguish their own works from that of Bhāṣyakāra Śaṅkaracārya but others did not do so. And then, if the doctrines propounded by such other Śaṅkaracārya's verse found similar to those of Bhāṣya. Śaṅkaracārya the works of the former were attributed to the latter. Mr. Hacker then applies the test of appellations applied to Bhāṣya Śaṅkaracārya by different persons to determine which works can be admitted to have been written by him.

Mr. Hacker finds that Śaṅkaracārya has been referred to as (i) Bhāṣyakāra or Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra (Padmapāda) (ii) Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra (Padma; Vacaspati and Ānandagiri, (iii) Bhagavān and Bhagavatpāda (Sureśvara), (iv) Bhagavatpādācārya, Bhagavat-Pūjyapādācarya or Ācārya (commentator of Sureśvara's Naiskarmya siddhi), (v) Bhagavatpād, (commentator of Totaka's Śrutisārasamuddharana) and (vi) Śaṅkaracārya only, sometimes alternating with these titles. Now, though भगवत्पाद and भगवत्पूज्यपाद are found sometimes applied to Govindamuni (भग.पूज्यपाद), विमुक्तात्मन् (भगवत्) and विमुक्तात्मनं 's Guru (भग.पूज्यपाद), Śaṅkaracārya is भगवत्पाद or (भग.पूज्यपाद) par excellence and is often so called along with the name Śaṅkaracārya in unambiguous context.

Colophones at the end of mss of writings ascribed to Śaṅkaracārya do seem to maintain a tradition in many cases but they have copied mechanically from generation to generation, with passage of time, भगवत्पाद or (भग.पूज्यपाद) was dropped and the title Śaṅkara only, with Ācārya added thereto, was used to designate the works of Śaṅkaracārya then defents the object of finding out form the colophons whether they attribute the works to Śaṅkaracārya (only) or to शङ्करभगवत्पूज्यपाद. As such, they do not help much in deciding Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of specific works with certainty.

Mr. Hacker's conclusion is that Śaṅkaracārya's contemporaries called him भगवत्, भगव्पाद or (भग.पूज्यपाद). The BSBh., which definitely comes from his pen, has been attributed to (Śaṅkaracārya with, these titles and hence we can say tht those works which have been so ascribed to him are from him while those ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (only) are of doubtful authorship. From the point of view, his Bhāṣyas on the प्रस्थानत्रय can be safely ascribed to (Ādi) Śaṅkaracārya. The प्रस्थानत्रय includes the Bhg. and hence the GBh. also can be said to have been written by him.

2. Mr. Daniel H.H. Ingalls, while trying to study Śaṅkaracārya and his works, proposes three methods of approach to the subject, viz., (i) the traditional (ii) the philosophical and (iii) the historical Mr. Ingalls is interested in the last method and hence passes over the first two methods with only a bried comment on their nature but does not attempt to apply either of them to te matter in hand, viz., the works of Śaṅkaracārya. He stresses the historical method, which he tries to apply to Śaṅkaracārya's works. Then he says that 4 texts, viz., Śaṅkaracārya's Bhāṣyas on Br.Sūtra, Br. Up-Taitti-Up and Upa-Sāha are definitely his works, and this is "on the evidence of men living in his own life time". He then lays down a test tht if any theory, not discussed in these four Bhāṣyas, is found in any work other than these four, that work can be dismissed as not being his work.

About Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of the GBh., Ingalls has no doubt. He does note that in the GBh, there is rather an Un - Śankaran usage of the word Māyā in the sense of a cosmic power rather than a psychological force but he attribute this difference to his following an earlier commentator. For, he observes that "we must realise that of all that Śaṅkara wrote only a part was his original contribution, though that part may have been very original indeed."

Then again, in the controversial passages, Ingalls finds hardly any argument which is not formed in any of the 4 works. His conclusion, therefore, that the GBh. was definitely written by Śaṅkaracārya.

2) Mr. Sangaku Mayada also holds that Śaṅkaracārya was the author of the GBh. and he seeks to establish it by using two methods as follows :

i) Comparison of the GBh. with the BSBH of Śaṅkaracārya.

ii) Reference to the GBh. in the works of other writers. In this respect, Mr. Mayūra does not expect vverbatim quotations from the GBh. (they were found in the case of Upasāha) as it is a prose work.

Under the first head, Mr. Mayeda examines the use of the words अविधा, माया, नामरूप, ईश्वर, आनन्द, निवर्त and व्यास. Out of these, he examines the use of words and अविधा, नामरूप, at a considerable length.

1) अविधा is conosidered under the followin heads :

i) Definition of Avidyā (ii) Powers similar to Avidyā.

(iii) अविधावस्था and अविनाविवभ

(iv) Function of Avidyā

(v) The traditional attributor of Avidyā.

2. नामरूप is said to have been used in different senses :

(i) नामरूप as the primary national cause of the world;

(ii) नामरूप as the phenominal world itself;

(iii) Juxtaposition of world factors like नामरूप & कर्म

(iv) अनिर्वचनीय as modifying नामरूप

(v) नामरूप & अविधा

(vi) नामरूप & ईश्वर

3.(i) माया is less frequently used in the BSBh that in the GBh, though in both the BSBh and GBh, अविधा is far was frequently used.

(ii) Māyā as 'fraud'

(iii) Māyā as magic;

(iv) Māyā as an object of comparison;

(v) Māyā as the miraculous power of God;

Regarding the use of these three words, Mr. Mayada finds that Avidyā is a word of most frequent occurrence, माया of less frequent and नामरूप of least frequent occurrence in both BSBh and GBh.

Secondly the connotation of these words agrees in both the Bhaṣyas very eminently while in the case of the word नामरूप the maya is one disagrees more than agrees with that in the GBh.

Thirdly, he also shows the close relationship between and even identification of the three concepts of अविधा, माया and नामरूप. In the GBh. in particular, even *** has been identified with Māyā.

Even in case of the other words, Mr. Mayada show how they are used in both the BSBH & GBh. almost in the same sense, in subotance where not literally.

Regarding comparison of quotation from previous works, both the BSBh and the

GBh. show a higher regard for the Br.Up than for any other while both cits the Bhg. frequently though the GBh. being a commentary on the BSBh.

All this is M. Mayud's internal ebidence, intended to show that both the BSBh & the GBh. are from the same p.a. of Ādi Śaṅkara. The difference that appears to exist may be explained by the different nature of the texts on which he has been commenting on the two Bhāṣyas.

Under the second head, Mr. Mayeda shows that Bhaṭṭa Bhāṣkara, a known critic of Śaṅkaracārya's philosophy, attacks his पूर्वपक्ष of तानकर्मसमुच्चय though he does not mention Śaṅkaracārya by name or the exact source. The contents however, are as very identical with GBh. only. Therein, he referst to 'your teaching quoting half a stanza from Upa. Grantha, which is first Upa-Sāha I : 18,222. This reference by Bhāskara to GBh. seems to be strong evidence for the authenticity of the GBh.

Secondly, Śaṅkaracārya authorship of works is borne out by commentaries thereon (by Sure and Ānand.) the whole of the GBh. has been commented upon by Ānanda. and hence the same must be regarded as being as genuine as Śaṅkaracārya's commentaries on the chān.Upa. and Bṛha. Upa.

Lastly, following Mr. Hacker, Mr. Mayada also holds that Bhāṣyas ascribed is Bhagavat or Bhagavan or Bhāṣyakāra are genuine works of Śaṅkaracārya while the authorship of works attributed to Śaṅkaracārya (only) is doubtful. Ānand's attributing the GBh to भगवान् भाष्यकार is, therefore, is favour of Śaṅkaracārya's leadership of the same.

All this is Mr. Mayeda's external evidence in favour of Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of the GBh. His conclusion is therefore positive that the GBh must have been written by Śaṅkaracārya only.[2]

In the case of all these articles it is possible and likely that there are some differences in the interpretations of some passages but that need not affect the main thesis about the genuineness of Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of the GBh. A more detailed discussion of the three articles is beyond the scope of this note nor is it, in my humble opinion, so very necessary for the matter in hand.

**Foot Notes :**

1.The three articles are :

i) Śaṅ. and Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda' by Paul Hacker, New I.a. 1947, pp.175 - 186.

ii) 'The study of Śankarācārya' by Daniel H.H. Ingalls, B.O.R.I. Annals, Vol.33,

1952, pp. 1 - 14.

iii) 'The authenticity of the Bhg.Bh. ascribed to Śaṅkaracārya by Sanguku Mayeda, Wiener zeitschrift for dic Kunde, Sud. Und Ostacians, Vol.IX, 1965, pp.155 - 187.

A copy of Mr. Mayeda's article (iii) in English only was very kindly sent to me by Prof. Jonnthan Bader, the Autotration, University, Australia.

Mr. Mayeda, refers at the beginning of the article, to another articles on Śankarācārya's GBh. by B. Faddegon, Amsterdam, 1906, who also holds the same view as Mr. Mayed but on some different grounds. (Vide Mr. Mayeda's F. Note No.3, p. 155) I have not been able to see this article.

2. Mr. Mayeda has proved in a similar way Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of Upa.Sāha. and once again, he is in agreement with Mr. P. Hacker & Mr. Ingalls. I have not seen this article also.

# THE CAṆḌĀLA INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA

*by* ***W.R. ANTARKAR***

This is one of the incidents considered to be the prominent as well as important in the life of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. It has been a topic of much discussion on account of its connection with a Caṇḍāla or untouchabvle and is generally used or understood to suggest that even in the eyes of Lord Śiva untouchability is untenable both in theory and practice.

The incident generally finds a mention in most of the recent biographes of Śaṅkarācārya, written in English and in vernacular like Marathi. In the recent film in Sanskrit by Sri G.V. Iyer on the life of Saṅkarācārya, this incident has been depicted with quite some importance and prominence accorded to it. It is however, surprising that out of 17 biographies in Sanskrit of Saṅkarācārya, that are available to day and which are really the principal source-material of these recent biographies in different languages, only about six narrate this incident. They are :

i) Saṇkarābhyudaya by Tirumala Dikṣita

ii) Saṅkṣepa - Śaṅkara-digvijaya by Mādhavācārya

iii) Śankara-digvijaya-sara by sadānanda

iv) Sankarabhaudaya by Nilakantha Diksita (from Hospet)

v) Sankara-mandara-saurabha by N. Diksita

vi) Sri-bhagavat-pādābhyudaya by M.M. Mahākavi Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin. 1

Susama, a commentarv attributed to Atmabodha, on Guru-ratna-mālikā of Kānchi Kāmakoti Maṭha, attributed to one Sadāśiva Brahman quotes, while commenting on st. 20 of Guru-ratna-mālika, 28 stazas as from Vyāsācaliya i.e. Sankara-vijaya by Vyasacala, dealing with this incident. Note even one of these stanzas is, however, to be found in the printed edition of this work, published manuscripts, two of which were supplied by the Kāñci Kāmakoṭi Maṭha 2. We, therefore, can not take Vyāsācala as biographer of Śaṅkarācārya, who narrates this incident. We are thus left with only five biographers and six biographies which describe this incident. The

incident has been narrated almost uniformly in these six biographies a follows.

At the instance of his Guru (Spiritual preceptor) Govinda Muni, Sankaracarya went to Kasi for the purpose of writing a commentary on the Brahma-sutras of Badarayana. After goint to Kasi, he got his first discriple Sanandana, whom he initiated into Sannyasa. Others also soon became his disciples.

One day, thereafter, Sankaracarya was goint to the river Gages or Manikarnika for bath, along with his disciples, when he came across on the way a Svapaca or Candala accompanied by four ferocious dogs. Lest the Svapaca should pollute him, Sankaracarya asked him to step aside. Thereupon a dialogue ensued between the two. The candala asked him whether he was addressing the body or the soul. If the body, it was just non-different from the body of Sankaracarya, the bodies of both being material (annamaya) only while if it were the soul, the Upanisads declared with one voice the identity of the souls in all the living beings. Sankaracarya is said to have seen immediately the force of his argument and said that anyone, who had so realised the identity of the soul, was his Guru, whether he was a Svapaca or a Brahmin and that he would give up the sense of difference thereafter. As soon as he said so, he saw before him not the candala but Lord Siva Himself in His full divine form. Sankaracarya fell prostrate before Him and praised Him Lord Siva then lifted him up and bade him write a commentary on the Brahma-sutras of Vyasa and spread the Advaita philosophy on the earth. The Lord then disappeared from vision.

This is the version of Tirumala diksita, Sadananda and Madhavacarya. According to Nilakantha, the Candala asked Sankaracarya as to how he made such distinction between a pure Brahmin and an impure Candala when the Upanisads declared the identity of the soul in all the beings and when Sankaracarya himself had been explaining to his disciples the same principle of identiy. Sankaracarya is said to have admitted his contention and said that he had himself realised in experience this identity through the grace of this Guru Govindanatha but that he was just observing the rules of his Asrama, so as to make his disciples - followers practise the way of the scriptures by his own example. He, then, implored hsi pardon, saying that anyone,. be he a candala or a Brahmin, who had realised the identiy, was his Guru. And then, immediately, the Sivapaca disappeared and Lord Siva appeared before him and so on.

Barring the few points of difference in the stroy, there seems to be general agreement as to the main substance of the same. It appears that the biographers also suggest or forescast in a way the occurence in that Govinda Muni, his Guru, tells Sankaracarya that at Kasi, the First Deity (Adya-Devata) i.e. Lord Siva would shower His grace would favour him with Darsana in bodily form (गच्छ काशीं शिवः साक्षाद्दर्शनं ते प्रदास्यति) or that he should write a commentary on the Brahma-sūtras getting a mandate to that effect from Lord Śiva (Nīlakaṇṭha - in both his works). Actually, however, when Śaṅkarācārya received the mandate, he, according to Mādhavācārya, Nīlankaṇtha

and Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin, went to Badari for doing so 3 while Tirumala Diksita only says that he wrote the commentary as well as his other works in Kasi only.4

Two important points deserve to be noted here viz. (i) the obvious intention of the biographers to secure divine sanction for Sankaracarya on the Brahma-sūtras in particular and (ii) the question of untouchability vis-a-vis Śaṅkarācārya. The first point does not need any discussion but about the second, the following points may be noted.

How and when the practice of untouchability started in India is still not known with any degree of certainty. Similarly, Sankaracarya's deate is also still a matter of dispute. Taking, however, the latest date for him, viz 788 A.D. to 820 A.D. generally accepted by scholars5 and also by the other people in general,. it is pretty clear that we are dealing with a period about 1200 years earlier from today. Considering how strictly it was practised in society even about a hundred years ago, it is had to believe that a candala or Svapaca would make bold to come up before a Sannyasi and behave and talke to him theway he has been described to be doing in this incident. In the first place he would hardly be seen on the public city, roads - particularly on a highly sacred place like Kāsī - and secondly, even if, were to have been seen elsewhere, he would on his won move out o Sankaracarya's path and himself avoid any kind of an encounter. His challenging argument is simply unthinkable and hence out of the question.

Secondly, the Śvapaca's knowledge of the very highly philosophical teaching of the Upanisads about the identity of the soul in all the living beings is also something very difficult to understand and or to explain. When none but the first three only out of the four Varnas were allowed to study the vedas, how did a Candala come to possess the knowledge of that teaching?

Thirdly, with regard to Nilakantha's version of the story, if that is true, how did the Candala come to know what Sankaracarya taught his disciples without being present at the sessions of instructions, which must have been of a strictly private character and hence admission to which must have been quite limited? And if he was present, how did he get access to those sessions and, then how did Sankaracarya not recognise him at the time of the incident at least as a familiar figure?

This point, as also the other two points, viz (i) Sankaracarya's declaring himself to be a self-realised person and (ii) his explanation as to why he yet distinguished between a Brahmin and a Candala, are not found in the version of Tirumala Diksita, Madhavacarya and Laksmana Surin. Obviously, Nilakantha seems to have tried to tender some kind of a justification for the (apparent) contradiction between what Sankaracarya preached and practised.

Lastly, even accepting that it was a real Candala but Lord Siva Himself (the modern critic may not accept this), it is not understood how Sankaracarya who has been depicted by all his biographers as a God-realised person (ब्रह्मज्ञानी) and who himself also says in so many words that

he has realised in direct experience the supreme identity of the soul, did not realise - at least suspect the real identity of the Candala, particularly when the latter talks about the highest principles of the Upanisads, quite inconsistent with his social status as a Candala. The biographers do not seem to realise or notice how they have compromised the character of Sankaracarya by depicting his in colour that do little or no credit to him and have thereby contradicted themselves after describing him as a Brahma-Jñāni - nay even as Lord Siva in human form. This is, however, not the only place where they have done so.

When we add to these considereations the point already made out ivz. that only five out of the sixteen biographers - two of them of the 19th Century A.D., - give this story, one of them - Madhavacarya - being just a copy of another one (Tirumala Diksita), the genuineness of the incident becomes highly suspect and the incident difficult to be accepted as a real part of Sankaracarya's life.

**Footnotes**

1. Vide (i) Tirumala Diḻita's Snilkarabhyudaya -chap.I!1 stt. 64-85
   (ii) Madhavaciirya's Sanksepa-Sailkari1-jaya -chap. IV stl 21-52
   (iii) Nilakaṇtha's Śaṅkarābhyudaya -chap, III stt. 10-24
   (vi) Nnakantha's Saka.ra-mandara-saurabha -chap. III stt. 12-31
   (v) Laksmana Surin's Sri bhagavat-padabhyudya - chap. IV stt. 52-70
   (vi) Sadananda's Sankara - digvijaya-sūra-chap. IV stt. 13-:.4
2. These very stanzas have led Mr. R.G. Sarma to advocate the hypothesis in his book Jagadguru-Sailkara-Matha-VimarSa that the so-called Vyasacaliya is nothing but the Sanksepa-Sailkara-jaya of Madhavacarya, with some additions and changes here and there - he calls them हेरफेर.
3. Vide (i) Madhavacarya's Sanksepa - Sankara-jaya -chap. IV stt. S4-S9
   (ii) Nilakantha's Sailkarabhyudaya -chap, III stt. 25-.59
   (iii) Nilakantha's Sankara - mandara-saurabha - chap. III stt, 30.31 etc.
   (iv) Laksmana Surin's Bhagavatpadabhyudaya-chap. IV stt, 70-76.
4. Vide Tirumala Diḻita's Sankarabhyudaya -chap. III stt. 86-89,
5. Mr. R.G. Sarma and Prof. P .M- UmeSa have tried to shift this date earlier by about a hundred years -Vide their book jagadguru-Sankara-Matha-Vimarśa and Sankara's date respectively.
6. It may here be noted that a beautiful philosophical composition in 5 stt. in Sardulavikridita metre, called मनीषापञ्चक, beginning with जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु स्फुटतरा etc, and attributed to Sankaracarya in connection with this Candala incident, has not been given -not even ltinted at -in any of these six biographies, which narrate this incidmt except. Bhagavatpadabhyudaya by M-M. Laksmana Surin the latest biography of Sankaracarya available so far. which alone gives it in full in the body of the text between stanzas 56 and 57 but with a separate numbering for its stanzas.

# KĀLIDĀSA IN U.S.S.R. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ABHIJÑĀNA-ŚĀKUNTALAM*

*by* ***S.A. UPADHYAYA***

At this Kālidāsa Samāroha in Ujjain, Ratha has brought us together to enable me to take you on a short yātra with Śakuntalā in Russia.

The recent Soviet archaeological discovery has revealed the contracts between Russia and ancient India as far back as the period of Harrappan civilization. India is reffered to as a country of wealth, wisdom and wonders. However, this image was mainly based on literary tradition.

The earliest direct contract is traced to Afanasy Nikitin's journey to India during 1471-1474. His travelogue published in Sofiskaya Chronicle urged to Russians to trun to India.

Armenian trading posts are found in India. Our Pancatantra was the talk of the twon of the ancient Georgia. Indian pilgrims flocked at the Indian temple built near Baku (at present, capital of Azerbaijan). The Georgian Rafail Danibegashvili irequently travelled to India. The linguistic affinity between the Ossetians and Indo-Aryans is well established. The culture of Buryatia can be understood better in the light of India thought.

During 17th to 19fth centureis, colony of Indian traders was existing in Astrakhan (in the Volga region). Ukraine popularised Indian stories and motifs in Russia.

The beginning of Indology in Russia can be traced to the first Russian translation of the Bhagavad-gita, published in 1788. (i.e. 204 years ago from to-day), by the University Press o fNikolai Novikov, who had a lively interest in India. The title page reads :

Beguat-geta or conversations of Krishna with Arjuna with Commentary.

Languages, called Sanskrit into English and Hence into the Russian Language.

Exactly 200 years ago, in 1792, the outstanding Russian historian and writer Nikolai Karamzin published translation by G. Forster, in the Moskovsky Zhurnal (pt. 6 books 2,3, pp. 125-156, 294-233). With the divine sound of the Bhagavad-gita in front, and with the auspicious foot-steps of Sakuntala following, the path of Indology in Russia was well carved out with firmness, fertility and fragrance.

---

Extracts from this pager were read at the Symposium at the Kālidās Samāroha at Ujjain., November 7-12-, 1992

## Sri Saṅkarācārya Authorship of

# THE GITĀ-BHĀSYA

*By* W.R. ANTARKAR

Tradition, over a period of more than one thousand years, is almost unanimous, on the point that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya wrote a commentary on the Bgg. just as he did in the case of the principal Upaniṣads and the Brahma Sūtras. Some critically minded people raised a doubt abut the correctness of this tradition and Mr. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarmā wrote an article[1] about 25 years ago, which seemed to have proved conclusively that Śaṅkara was, in fact, the author of the Gītā-Bhāṣya. Recently, however, Prin. R.D.Karmarkar has made a fresh attempt2 to show that Śaṅkara could not possibly have written the said commentary and this article is intended to examine the issue once more.

Mr. Śarma has put forward two main auguments in support of Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gita-Bhāṣya. They are :

(1) There are many close correspondences between the statements in the Gīta-Bhāṣya and the Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya. Fifteen such passages from each of the two commentaries have been cited to show how close the resemblance is and how the thoughts in the latter are already foreshadowed in the former. The difference in the maturity of style is said to be due to the fact that Gītā-Bhāṣya was one of the earliest works of Śaṅkara and the Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya the last and the best.

---

Note : Shortforms have been used for authors or standard works as under :

1. Rāmā - Rāmānuja,
2. Ved. Des. - Vedānta Deśika or Venkatanātha, comm. of Rāmā
3. Jaya. - Jayatīrtha,
4. Madhu. Saras. - Madhusūdana Sarasvatī
5. Veṅk. - Veṅkatanātha, author of Brahmānanda Giri Vyākhyā.
6. G.Bh. - Gīta-Bhāṣya
7. Bhg. - Bhagavad Gitā
8. M.Bh. - Mahābhārata
9. Br. Sū. - Brahma-Sūtra
10. Bh. - Bhāṣya
11. Up. Upaniṣadas
12. Taitti. - Taittiriya
13. Chh. - Chhāndogya
14. B.r. - Bṛhadāraṇyaka.

1. Vide his article in B.O.R.I Annals - Vol. XIV, pp. 39 to 60
2. Vide his article in B.O.R. Annals - Vol. XXXIX, pp.365 to 371

(2) Later commentators of the Gita, like Bhāskara and Abhinavagupta, Rāmānuja and Madhva, particularly the latter two, have criticised Śaṅkara's interpretations of Gitā-passages and the commentators Vedāntadeśika and Jayatirtha, of Rāmānuja and Madhva respectively have in many places identified Śaṅkara by name as the person intended to be criticised. Only important passages - not all - have been cited as evidence. Even as they are, they are quite numerous and appear to be conclusive proof of Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gītā-Bhaṣya.

The same writer has proved the unity of authorship of the Gītā-Bhaṣya by citing three instances for the same.

Prin. Karmarkar has ignored the arguments of Mr. Śarmā and put forth his own independently as follows:

(1) The most important argument is that "Śaṅkara time and again swears by Śruti." Śaṅkara's references to the Bhg. are so varied that he does not seem to be sure of the name he should give to it. The name Iśvara-Gītā, given by him to the Bhg. at one place,[3] is also found applied to a Gītā from Kum̊rma-purāṇa. In such circumstances, it seems impossible that Śaṅkara undertook to write a commentary on such an anomalous work.

(2) The extant G.Bh. refers at the beginning to previous comentaries on the Bhg. but not even one is available today. Bhāskara's time is unknown. It, therefore, appears that the Gītā first acquired importance as a work of the Bhāgavata school and then some Advaitin thought of writing an Advaitic commentary thereon and that was the G.Bh., which was later attributed to Śaṅkara.

(3) The reference in the G.Bh. to an alternative interpretation of Bhg. XIII - 13 by splitting up "अनादिमत् परं ब्रह्म" as अनादि and मत्परं ब्रह्म seems to refer to Rāmāṇuja's comments on Br. Sū.Bh. on I:1:1 and as such the G.Bh. must have come after Ramanuja.

(4) The description of the Lord as Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu and the reference to his six-fold splendour and Vaiṣnavī Māyā "does not appear quite in the line of Śaṅkara as an Advaitin. The passage looks apt more in the mouth of a Vaiṣnavite or some follower of the Bhakti-school proper.

(5) In the Introductory protion of the G.Bh., Śaṅkara refers to himself in the first person singular[4] whereas, he has always used the first person plural in his commentaries on the Upaniṣads and the brahma-Sūtras.

---

3. Vide Br. Sū.Bh. on II : 1:14 - Refr. to ईश्वरगीता twice.
4. Read : (i) ....अहं....संक्षेपतः विवरणं करिष्यामि ।
   (ii) ....अतस्तद्विवरणे यत्नः क्रियते मया । - गीताभाष्यउपोद्घात

(6) The G.Bh. ignores altogether the first chapter and the first ten stanzas of chapter II of the Bhg. which is contrary to Śaṅkara's practice of introducing even the small stories (ākhyāyikas) of the Upaniṣads.

(7) In the G.Bh., Śaṅkara refers to Veda-Vyāsa as Sarvajña and Bhagavān. Śaṅkara always refers to 'Bādarāyana Vyāsa as Ācārya, scarcely as Bhagavān. The epithet Bhagavān, applied to Bādarāyana Vyāsa as at Br. Sū.IV: 4:22 appears to be an addition by some copyist. Śaṅkara treats Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini on the same level. To him, Upavarṣa alone is Bhagvān.

(8) If tradition is to be believed, the Br. Sū. Bh. was written by Śaṅkara at 16 years and even conceding that G.Bh. was his earliest work, the gap of time between the two is not sufficient to account for "the complete change of style, manner and content."

(9) The G.Bh. cheaply disposes of the reference to Śukla-Kṛṣṅa Gatis at Bhg. VIII: 26 while Śaṅkara make an elaborate reference to them in his commentary on the Br. Sū. at IV: 2: 20/21, which also shows his scant respect for the Bhg.

(10) There is a clear variation between Śaṅkara's explanation of the Aśvattha tree, as described in the Kaṭhopaniṣad and that in the G.Bh. This variation militates against common authorship.

(11) Śaṅkara, while explaining the Br. Sū. II: 3: 45, simply refers to Bhg. XV: 7 without any explanation of the word aṁśa, which was already explained at Br. Sū. II: 3:43. G.Bh. on Bhg. XV: 7, however, explains the word aṁśa by citing instances of Jalasūryaka (जलसूर्यक) and ghaṭadyupadhi (घटाद्युपाधि). The reference to Jalasūryaka is evidently taken from br. Sū. Bh. on II: 3:50, where it is quite pertinent. In the context of the Bhg. however the reference to Jalasūryaka does not appear to be quite relevant. Moreover, Śaṅkara generally uses the illustrations of mirage and rope-snake and Upadhis. The comment in the G.Bh. was bodily taken from Br. Sū.Bh., which the writer of the G.Bh. had before him.

(12) The interpretation in the G.Bh. of Bhg. XIII: 4 is unsatisfactory. In the Vedas, Vasiṣtha has not referred to the point in question. At best, it is a reference to Yogavāsiṣtha, which deals with the point exhaustively. Rāmāṇuja renders the word ṛśbhih by 'parāśarādibhiḥ' (पराशरादिभिः) and Br. Sūtras by Śarīraka-Sūtras. Some writer, therefore, who knew the Yogavāsiṣtha but did not favour Rāmānuja's interpretation of the word ब्रह्मसूत्र, was the author of the G.Bh.

For these reasons, Prin. Karmarkar concludes "there is" ground to doubt the authenticity of Śaṅkara's authorship of the G.Bh.

It is difficult to agree with these arguments invidividually or collectively. My reasons are:

(1) The argument seems to be that Śaṅkara attached importance to Śrutis and that he never considered that the Bhg. was worthy of any commentary on it from him. It is undeniable that Śaṅkara does, now and again, swear by Śruti but that is becuase he is dealing with Śruti itself. Thus, while commenting on the Upaniṣads, he is dealing with Śruti texts direct. In his commentary on the Br. Sū.s, he is once again dealing with Śruti texts, though a little indirectly, for the Śutras were nothing but a concordance of the Śruti texts. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he swears by Śruti, in this connection, it becomes important to note that Śaṅkara quotes from the Bhg. to support his interpretations of the Śruti-passages. Thus, in his commentary on the Br.Sū.s, he quotes from the Bhg. about 42 passages and refers to the work as Bhagvad-Gītā and Īśvara-Gīta in the plural 4 times each. In 33 cases, he refers to it as Śmṛti. In his commentary on the Br. Up. alone, be cites the Bhg. 15 times, referring to it as Gītāsu and Smrm̊ti six times each, as the statement of Vyāsa twice and as the statement of the Lord once. In his commentary on the Chh. Up., he refers to and quotes the Bhg. as Smṛti, four times. He has cited the Bhg. as Smṛti in his commentaries on the other Upaniṣads also like the Taittirīta and Kena (Pada-Bhāṣya). All this only serves to show the importance Śaṅkara must have been attaching to the Bhg.

Re :Śaṅkara not being sure of the name of the Bhg., We find that in most of the cases, he refers to the work either as Gīta or as Smṛti. Bhagavān or Īśvara makes no difference, for the two words are just a paraphrase of each other. It is clear that he refers to the work either as Gītā, which is its (short) name or as Smṛti, which, technically is its standard of authority. Śaṅkara has referred to M.Bh. also by name as well as by the words 'Smrm̊ti' and 'Śmaraṇa' but this does not mean that he is not sure of the name he should give to the M.Bh. The G.Bh. itself contains varied references to the Bhg. itself,[5] as (i) previous mantra (ii) statement (iii) Gīta (iv) Smṛti and (v) statement of the Lord (Īśvara). If, the G.Bh. was written long after Śaṅkara, when it had "become firmly established as an important work of the Bhāgavata school, "the vagueness in its reference cannot be properly explained. On the contrary, it agrees far better with its authorship by Śaṅkara, who makes similar refrences to the work in his other commentaries.

Still more important is the fact that the Brahma Sūtras themselves cite the authority of the Bhg. as a Smrm̊ti no less than seven times[6] and these citations show that even in the time of the Sūtrakāra, the Bhg. had attained such an important that it should be cited to support interpretations of Śrūti passages also.

---

5. Read : (i) यस्मादेवं, तस्मात् "उभौ तौ न विजानीतः" (II:19) इति पूर्वेण मन्त्रेण अस्य सम्बन्धः । G.Bh. - II : 20

(ii) स च अविद्वान्, "उभौ तौ न विजानीतः" (II:19) इति वचनात् । G.Bh.II:21

(iii) तस्मात्केवलादेव ज्ञानान्मोक्ष इत्येषोऽर्थो निश्चितो गीतासु...। G.Bh. III - Intro.

(iv) स्मृतश्च-"अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानम्.... ..." इत्याद्याः । G. Bh. XIII :2 स्मृतेश्च इहैव-यदादित्यगतं तेजः इत्यादे : । G.Bh.XIII:17

(v) ... ... अनादित्वान्निर्गुणत्वात् (Bhg. XIII:31) इतीश्वरवचनाच्च ।

If Śaṅkara's contemporary biographer Citsukha is to be believed,7* the Bhg. Viṣnusahasranāma, Sanatsujāta, Anugita, and Utara-gita were among the portions of the M.Bh. that formed the Smṛti-prasthāna in his times. Gauḍapāda had already commented on the last two works and hence Śaṅkara commented upon the first three. The G.Bh., according to Citsukha, was one of Śaṅkara's earliest works and was written by him during the period of his four years' training under Gauḍapāda.8*

(2) The reference in the introductory commentary on the Bhg., to previous commentaries thereon cannot be brushed aside on the sole ground that none of them is available today. Śaṅkara refers in his Br. Sū.Bh. alone to so many previous views and it is believed that they were embodied in different commentries on the Br.Sū.s. extant in Śaṅkara's time. In fact, the Br.Sū.s. themselves refer to so many persons like Auḍulomi, Āśwarathya, Kāśakṛtsna, and so on, holding different views on different topics of philosophy. It is common knowledge that none of the commentaries or works of any of these persons is available today and yet no one has questioned the possibility of their existence in Śaṅkara's time. On the same analogy, it is possible that the commentaries on the Bhg., referred to by Śaṅkara but not available today, did exist in his own time and that again shows that the Bhg. was, even before Śaṅkara's time, considered so important as to inspire so many commentries thereon.

Vedānta-Deśika, commentator of Rāmā's G.Bh., has enumerated at the end of his own commentary, at Bhg. Ch. XVIII, previous commentators on the same[9] and it is clear from his manner of reference to them that he is mentioning their names in their oder of time, Previous to Śaṅkara, he mentions three commentarors viz., Piśāca, Rantideva and Gupta. Out of these three, Piśāca and Hanūmān, who wrote a comemntary on the Bhg. and the said commentary was called Paiśaca-Bhāṣya. Even if the first part of the tradition may not be believed, it is generally agreed that the commentary is the smae as the one available today under that name, perhaps written by some person called Hanūmān. Tradition further holds that this commentary formed the basis of Śaṅkara's G.Bh. Some scholards doubt the possibility. A comparative examination, however, of the two commentaries seems to show clearly that there is a marked agreement between them and that the Paiśāca-Bh. is the shorter of the two. Śaṅkara's commentary or the G.Bh. adds a good deal to the interprettions of the P.Bh., particularly to refute the Jñāna-karman-Samuccaya theory of the Mīmāṁsakas, which, in fact that the P.Bh. is, as said before, mentioned earlier seems to show that possibly, tradition is correct in looking upon the P.Bh., as an earlier and the G.Bh. as a later commentary. Rantideva and Gupta are the other two previous

6. Vide Br. Sūtras - 1:2:6, I:3; 23, II:3:45, III:2:17, IV:1:10, IV; 2:21, IV:4:20.

7. The question of the authority of Citsukha and his biography of Śaṅkara has been discussed in my thesis Śaṅkara-Vijayas - A comparative and a cirtical study', submitted to the Poona University.

8. Vide T.S. Narayaṇa Sastri's Age of Śaṅkara' - p.67

commentators of the Bhg.[10] All this goes to show that the Bhg. must have attained sufficient importance before Śaṅkara and people must have written commentaries on the same. This conclusion is all the more irresistible for those who believe that Śaṅkara lived in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. This also disposes of the argument that the G.Bh. in question was written later when it acquired importance as a work of the Bhāgavata school.

(3) The argument based on the alternative splitting up of अनादिमत् and परम् as अनादि and मत्पर is also without much point. Rāmāṇuja only came at the head of a movement which was going on for a long time. Prior to Rāmā there were as many as 1 2 Alvars or Vaiṣṇavite saints and six Ācāryas, advocating the doctrine of Bhakti. As such, the mere reference to an alternative interpretation is not enough to prove that the G.Bh. is posterior in time of Rāmā.

The discussion of Asti and Nāsti is quite like to have been taken from the Vrtti of Bochāyana, whom, Rāmā, explicitly says, he has followed in writing his Śrī-Bhāṣya and whom Śaṅkara, according to his commentators, has criticised in his Br. Sū. Bh.[11]

(4) Regarding the description of the Lord as Nārāyaṇa and so on at the beginning of the G.Bh., it is not correct to supporse that Śaṅkara as an Advaitin was not or could not have a Bhakta or A Vaiṣṇava. There is no such contradiction between Jñāna or Advaita and Bhakti. In fact, only a true Jñānin can become a true Bhakta. A Bhakta is one who is not Vibhakta from God and a Jñānin alone can become such a Bhakta. Śaṅkara has defined Bhakti in similar terms.[12] The Bhg. also describes four kinds of Bhaktas and refers to the Jñānins as the best of the four. Many beautiful hymns like the Ṣatpadī, Hrimīde and Kṛṣṇāṣṭaka are generally admitted to have come from Śaṅkara's pen and they testify to his having been such a Bhakta. All these three humns, again, refer to the Viṣṇu aspect of the Lord. There are many passages in his commentaries on the Br. Sū.s and the Up.s where he refers to Viṣṇu by way of illustration and not to any other deity. Nearly 1 6 biographers of Śaṅkara tell us that his mother was a life-long devotee of Kṛṣṇa. All this shows very clearly that Śaṅkara was a Vaiṣnava first and everything else - if anything at all - afterwards. There is, therefore, no contradiction in the description of the Lord as Nārāyaṇa.

If, however, such a contradiction is admitted to exist, we shall have to say that the description in question did not form part of the orignal G.Bh. and was inserted afterwards by some person of Vaiṣṇavite leanings but no such claim or suggestions of interpolation or dual authorship has been made.

On the other hand, it is possible to show that the entire G.Bh. as available today is by one person. The question of the unity of authorship of the G.Bh. has been discussed at the end of this article.

---

9. Read : पिशाच-रन्तिदेव-गुप्त, शङ्कर-यादवप्रकाश-भास्कर-नारयणार्य-यज्ञस्वामि-प्रभृतिभिः... ... अविगीत परिगृहीतोऽयमत्र सारार्थः । Bhg. XVIII:66
10. Their works have still not been traced.

(5) Śaṅkara's reference to himself in the first person singular is very easily explained. In the G,Bh., it occurs only twice. According to all the biographers of Śaṅkara, the G.Bh. was one of his very early works and that is precisely whe he uses the first person singular. There are similar references in the stanzas at the beginning of this commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Up. and Gauḍapāda's Kārikās and Taittirīya Up. But these stanzas have been easily disposed of as suspicious, as if such saluations were inherently inconsistent with Śaṅkara. Even if, however, we concede that these two cases are really suspicious, the two solitary references in the G.Bh. need not lead us to doubt Śaṅkara's authorship of the same. In as many as 12 other places in the G.Bh. itself, the first person plural has been used just as in the commentaries on the Br. Sū.s and the Up.s.[13]

( 6 ) Regarding the omission to comment on the first chapter and a portion of the second. Śaṅkara is not the only person to do so. Madhva has done the same thing and his commentator Jayatirtha has actually tried to explain away the omission by saying that the portion omitted was very easy Ind needed no comment.[14] Rāmā also has done scant justice to this portion and has added almost nothing to point out the bearing of the same on the teaching of the Bhg. It is, therefore, not correct to say that "no other commentator has so completely ignored this." It is indeed interesting to note that in one place, the author of the G. Bh. is criticised for giving puerile explanations of certain words and in another, he is criticised for omitting a portion which was too easy to need explanation. The bear-ing of the portion on the eentral teaching of the Bhg., given at tbe beginning of tte commentary on Bhg. II : It is quite sufficient and to the point. In

---

11. Read : भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संचिक्षिपुः ।
 तन्मतानुसारेण सूत्राक्षराणि व्याख्यास्यन्ते । Śrī Bhāṣya - Opening Sentence.

12. Read : श्रीस्वरूपानुसन्धानं भक्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥ विवेक्चूडा. st.

13. 1) यथा चायमर्थस्तथा प्रकरणशः विभज्य तत्र तत्र दर्शयिष्यामः Bhg. II. 10
 2) तस्माद्गीताशास्त्रे आत्मज्ञानवतः संन्यास एवाऽधिकार इति तत्र तत्र उपरिष्टादात्मज्ञानप्रकरणे दर्शयिष्यामः ।
 ... प्रकृतं तु वक्ष्यामः Bhg. II. 21
 3) तथा च व्याख्यातोऽस्माभिः श्लोकः ।Bhg. III. 18
 4) नित्यस्य च कर्मणः वेदप्रमाणावबुद्धत्वात्फलेन भवितव्यमित्यवोचाम । Bhg. VI उपो.
 5) तथा तत्र तत्र 'य एवं वेत्ति हन्तारम्' (2.19) .............. तथैव च व्याख्यातमस्माभिः । उत्तरेषु च प्रकरणेषु दर्शयिष्यामः Bhg. XIII.2
 6) सत्यमेवं प्राप्तम्, एतदेव च 'न हि देहभृता शक्यम्' (18:11) इत्यस्मिन्, प्रदेशे, तृतीयादौ च । Bhg. XVIII.2
 7) तच्च उपपादितमस्माभिः 'वेदाविनाशिनं' (11:21) इत्यस्मिन्, प्रदेशे, तृतीयादौ च । Bhg. XVIII.3
 8) स एष सर्ववेदार्थसारः......इति तत्र तत्र प्रकरणविभागेन दर्शितोऽस्माभिः शास्त्रन्यायानुसारेण । Bhg. XVIII.17
 9) यथा चैतदेवमेव नान्यथा इति अवोचाम । Bhg. XVIII.17
 10) दर्शितश्चायमर्थः क्षेत्राध्याये विस्तरशः ॥ Bhg. XV.7

reading the G. Bh. it has to be remembered that it has been written principally to refute the theory of Jñāna-karman-Samuccaya of the Mīmāṁsakas and the autbor has commented at length only where points relating to this refutation are involved. The rest of the Bhg. portion bas been dealt with briefly. This sufficiently explains why the first portion of the Bhg. has not been commented upon.

( 7 ) Thalt Śaṅkara does not apply tbe epithet Bhagavān to anyone except Upavarsa is not at all correct. He has applied it twice to Bādārāyapa Vyāsa[15], once to Vāsudeva in his Br. Sū. Bh.[16] and once to Veda Vyāsa in his isa Up. Bh.[17] If, in the case of Bādārāyana Vyāsa, it is to be regarded as an addition by some later copyist, there is no reason why the same rule, should not be applied to the case of Upavarṣa also. There is no better evidence to say that the prefix Bhagavan applied to Upavarṣa is from , Śaṅkara's pen only.

( 8 ) Regarding the difference in the styles of the G. Bh. and the Br. Sū. Bh., it is indeed difficult to see "the complete change of style, of manner and content." In fact, it will be very difficult to show the change in content. On the contrary, a comparative study of the G. Bh. and Br. Sū. Bh., will show that the G. Bh. foreshadowed many an idea in the latter and thus lead any honest critic to conclude that the same genius was at work in the two Bhāṣyas. The passages cited by Mr. B. N. Kṛṣṇamurti Śarma from the two commentaries are sufficient to prove the truth of this statement. Even the style of the G. Bh. so very closely resembles that of the later Bhāṣyas, including the Br. Sū. Bh. that no particular period of time is required to have elapsed between the writing of the two.

( 9 ) In view of what has been said regarding the nature of G. Bh.,, the brief treatment of the Śukla and Kṛṣṇa gatis need not at all surprise us. In the case of the Br. Sū.s, there is the question of the comparative authority of the Bhg. as Smṛti and Śruti relating to a self-realised person. When Śaṅkara dismisses Śruti itself as valueless after self-realisation, there is nothing to wonder about if he attaches scant importance to the Smrti on the same level.

( 10 ) Regarding the descriptions of the Aśvattba tree, the explanation in the G. Bh. gives more hetus or reasons for calling it ūrdhvamūla (ऊर्ध्वमूल) while the Kaṭha Up. Bh. gives less.

---

(1) इदानीं गीताव्याख्यानावसरे प्राप्ते 'धर्मक्षेत्रे' (1.1) इत्यारभ्य 'अशोच्यान्, अन्वशोचस्त्वं । (II.11) इत्यतः प्राक्तनस्य ग्रन्थस्य अतिरोहितार्थत्वात् तात्पर्यमाह-तत्रेति । Jaya. in Madhva's G. Bh. on 11. II 11.

(2) (१) ....इति यन्मतं भेगवती बादरायणस्य तत्तथैव तिष्ठति ॥ ब्र.सू. 111.4:8

(२) ....इत्यतो भगवान् बादरायण आचार्य उत्तरं पठति ॥ Ibid. IV. 4. 22

(3) स्मृतावथि "अप्रेप्य योगसंसिद्धि & etc." इत्यर्जुनेन पृष्टो भगवान्, वासुदेवः...देर्शयति । Ibid. III. 4. 51

(4) "प्रवृत्तिलक्षणो धर्मो निवृत्तश्च विभावितः' इत्यादि पुत्राय विचार्य निश्चितमुक्तं व्यासेन वेदाचार्येण भगवता ॥ Up. Bh. St. 2

Similarly the explanation of अवाक्शाख in the G. Bh. refers to the cause-statle (कारणरूपेण विवरणम्)) for Mahat, Ahaṅkāra etc. are the initial subtle causes, of which Svarga, Naraka etc. are the effects in the long run. The second description, therefore, is from the point of view of the expanse of the initial cause. There is, therefore, neither difference nor variation as such between the two.

( 1 1 ) The word Aṁśa is naturally not dilated upon in the Br. Sū. Bh. because, as has been pointed out in the article itself, 1 8 the idea has been explained by Śaṅkara already at Br. Sū. II : 3 : 4 3. Equally naturally, he explains it in the Bhg. in some details by citing certain illustrations because in the work, it appears for the first time. It may be pointed out that the explanation in the: Br. Sū. Bh. is an amplification of the reference in the G.Bh. rather than vice versa and it only shows that at the time of writing the G.Bh. he had the idea already in his mind.

Regarding the illustrations of mirage etc. it is to be noted that Śaṅkara gives them when dealing with the relation of the world to Reality whereas, here the relation of the individual souls to Reality has to be explained and hence he has used the illustrations of Jalasūryaka and Ghatādi Upādhis, perhaps taking his clue for the first from the Br. Sū.s themselves. He gives the same Jalasūryaka illustration in a similar context in his commentary on the Chhāndogya Up. 1 9 The reference, therefore in the G. Bh. is neither irrelevant nor borrowed from another commentary.

( 1 2 ) Regarding the reference to Vasiṣtha at G. Bh. XIII : 4, the date of the Yogavāsiṣta is still not finally decided. Dr. Sahasrabudhe has shown that it is possible that the original portion of the same was older than Śaṅkara . In that case, the reference in the G. Bh. need not necessarily be construed to mean that the G. Bh. was posterior to Śaṅkara.

It will thus be seen that the arguments advanced against Śaṅkara 's authorship of the G. Bh. do not, at all, support the thesis they are intended to. Interpretations of passages always admit of arguments on either side but when any unanimous tradition has to be challenged, clear contradictions 1 have to be established to prove difference in authorship. Minor additions and omissions or even variations cannot be considered sufficient for the purpose.

Śaṅkara 's autborship of the G. Bh., however, does not depend upon a mere refutation of the arguments against it. It is also proved by other findings of a positive nature. These findings are:

( 1 ) Ten biographers of Śaṅkara. 2 0 including Citsukha, Śaṅkara's contemporary and disciple, tell us that Śaṅkara wrote a commentary on the Bhg. as he did on the Up.s and the Br. Sū.s and that this G. Bh. was one of his earliest Bhāṣyas.

( 2 ) There are about 3 2 commentaries on the Bhg. Nineteen of these have been published in two volumes by the Gujerati Printing Press, Bombay. The testimony of some of

18. Vide ABORI - Vol. XXXIX-p. 370

these is very important from the point of view of Śaṅkara 's authorship of the G. Bh. It is as follows :

( i) Anandagiri, the disciple of Śuddhānanda, has generally written commentaries on Śaṅkara 's Bhāṣyas. After Bhāskara, Rāmānuja is the earliest known critic of Śaṅkara. If Ānandagiri had been aware of these criticisms, he would certainly have tried to defend Śaṅkara against them. According to Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha, commentators of Rāmā and is no attempt on the part of Ānandagiri to defend Śaṅkara or the G. Bb. This, clearly shows that he must have preceded Rāmā and has to be placed before the 11 th century A. D. ( Rāmā's time is 1017 A. D. to 1138 A.D. ). Traditionally, Ānandagiri is regarded as tbe 7th Ācārya fromŚaṅkara and with the latest date for Śaṅkara, viz. 788 A.D. to 820 A.D., Ānandgiri is easily placed before the 11 th cent. A.D. In view of this close proximity in time to Śaṅkara, the existence of his commentary on a Bhāṣya which he ascribes to Śaṅkara can be takcn to be good proof of Śaṅkara's authorship of the same.

Ānandagiri has written a commentary on the G. Bh., from the beginning to the end. In his own commentary, he ascribes in clear terms, the G. Bh. to Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra, 21 which term he has applied to Śaṅkara, the author of Bhāṣyas on Up.s and Br. Sū.s. The colophons also to his commentary (except on the first chapter) refer to the same as an explanation of Śaṅkara Bhāṣya on the Bhg. 22 In the last salutation stanza at the end of his coffimcntary on the G. Bh., he refers to his commentary, which is said to follow in the footsteps of the prior Ācārya-pāda. 23 All this clearly shows that according to Anandagiri, the G. Bh. was written by the same Śaṅkara who wrote the other Bhāsyas on the Up.s and the Br. Sū.s.

ii) Next to the evidence of Anandagiri, that of Vedānta-Deśika and Jayatirtha, the commentators of Rāmā, and Madhva respectively, as that of Śaṅkara's opponents, is very important. Among these two commentators. Jayathirta i.e. Madhva refers to and criticises Rāmā's interpretations of Gitā-passages but Vedānta-Deśika makes no attempt either to criticise Madhva or to defend Rāmā, against Madhva. It, therefore, seems that Ved. Deś. stands midway between Rāmā, and Madhva i.e. between 1140 A.D and 1250 A.D.

According to Ved. Deś. and Jaya., their respective masters Rāmā, and Madhva, criticise and discard Śaṅkara's interpretations of the Gitā-passages. , Neither Rāmā, nor Madhva mentions Śaṅkara by name anywhere but their, commentators, particularly Ved. Deś. do mention his name as Śaṅkara. Mr. Śarma has pointed out some of these references, to which many more can be added. The following are some of the aggregate :

---

11. जीवो हि नाम देवताया आभासमात्रम् । बुद्ध्यादिभूतमात्रासंसर्गजनितः, आदर्शे इव प्रविष्टः पुरुषप्रतिबिम्वः जलादिष्विव च सूर्यादीनाम् ॥ छा. उ. VI. 3.2.

(1) वे.दे. - .... शङ्करादिपक्षे शशास्त्रोपदेशारम्भाद्यनुपपत्तेः ... .. शास्त्रारम्भं समञ्जसयन्.... ... ।।उपोद्घातभाष्य of Rāmā

(2) जय. - शङ्करः कृष्णावतारपुरस्कारेण गीतायाः संगतिमाह... ... । Ibid '

(3) जय. - 'प्रज्ञावादान्' इत्येतत् 'प्रज्ञावतां बुद्धिमतां वादान् वचनानि' इति कश्चित् व्याचक्षीत, तदसत्।।
Bhg. II : II; The words. 'प्रज्ञावतां & etc.' are taken from the G. Bh. on II : II

(4) वे. दे. - 'देहभेदाभिप्रायेण (The Word in the G.Bh. is देहभेदानुवृत्त्या)
बहुवचनं, नाऽत्मभेदाभिप्रायेण' इति शङ्करोक्तं दूषयति - पारमार्थिकेति ।। Bhg. II : 12

यद्वा भास्करपक्षदूषणायैव श्रुतिरुपात्ता, ततश्च कैमुत्येन शङ्करपक्षोऽपि दूषितः । Ibid '

तत एव ... ... अविद्यादिमूलभेदवादिनां शङ्करादीनां... निरासमभि-प्रयन्... ... श्रुत्यर्थमाह - नित्यानामिति । Ibid '

पुनः सिंहावलोकितेन शङ्करमतस्योपदेशानुपपत्तिरूपं शास्त्रारम्भमूलघातमाह - अज्ञानेति । Ibid '

(5) जय. - अत्र भगवता जीवानां परस्परमीश्वराच्च भेदे प्रतिपादितेऽपि बहुवचनं शरीरापेक्षया न तु आत्मपेक्षयेति वदतः भविष्यत्युत्तरम् । Ibid

Both Rāmā. & Madhva believe in plurality of souls as ultimate reals and hence criticise Śaṅkara who says tbat ultimately जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।।

(6) वे.दे. - आभिर्मीयन्ते शब्दादय इति श्रोत्रादीनीन्द्रियाणि मात्रा इति शङ्कराद्युक्ता-प्रसिद्धयोजनाव्युदासाय मात्राशब्दार्थमाह - शब्देति । II : 14

(7) जय. - 'मीयन्ते विषया यैरिति मात्रा इन्द्रियाणि' इति व्याख्यानमसत्। Both Rāmā and Madhva disagree with Śaṅkara's interpretation of the word Mātrā.

(8) वे.दे. - एतेन तद्ब्रह्मा, तद्भावस्तत्त्वमिति शङ्करोक्तमपहसितम्। Bhg. II : 16

(9) जय. - अस्त्वेवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति वदेता' आत्मनोऽनित्यत्वमभ्युपगम्येद-मुच्यते' इति मायावादिनो व्याख्यानं निरस्तं भवति ।। Bhg. II : 26 Śaṅkara introduces st. 26 by the words आत्मनः अनित्यत्वं & c

(10) वे.द. - एतेन कर्तृदृष्टान्ततया शङ्करोक्तं योजनान्तरमपि दूषितम् ।। Bhg. 11:29

(11) वे.दे. - ब्राह्मणशब्दस्याऽत्र संन्यासिपरत्वेन शङ्करव्याक्या त्वतिमन्दा ।। Bbg. II : 46

(12) जय. - यथाऽऽह शङ्करः - 'लब्धसमाधिप्रज्ञस्य लक्षणत्वबुभुत्सया अर्जुन उवाचु' इति तदसदिति भावेनाह - उक्तमिति ।। Bhg. II : 54

(13) वे.दे. - तत् शङ्कराद्युक्तप्रकारनिराकरणेन यथावत् द्वितीयाध्यायनिर्वाहादित्यर्थः ।। Bhg. III

---

20. The biographers are;
(१) चित्सुखाचार्य (२) चिद्विलास (३) गोविन्दनाथ (४) तिरुमल दीक्षित (५) माधवाचार्य (६) सदानन्द (७) काशी लक्ष्मणशास्त्री (गुरुवंश काव्य) (८) परमेश्वर कविकण्ठीरव (९) ब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वती (१०) नीलकण्ठ

21. ....प्रवृत्तं गीताशास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुर्भगवान्भाष्यकारः.. मङ्गलचरणं सम्पादयन्... । Introductory Comm. '

(14) जय. - शङ्करस्तु 'अकरणमसन्न सन्तं प्रत्यवायं जनयति... ...' इत्यवादित्॥ Bhg. III: 4. Vide G. Bh. on ch. III introductory comm.

(15) जय. - ज्ञानरहितात् कर्मत्यागरूपाद्यत्याश्रमात् 'सिद्धिं न समधिगच्छति' (३१४) इति किल पूर्वमुक्तं तत्र 'हेत्वाकाङ्क्षायां न हि कश्चिदित्युच्यते' इति व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेन शलोकतात्पर्यमाह - न त्विति॥ Bhg. III : 5

(16) वे.द. - सहयज्ञाः' इति शङ्करयादवप्रकाशीयपाठस्त्वप्रसिद्धेरनादृतः। Bhg. III: 10

(17) वे.दे. - ब्रह्माक्षरशब्दयोर्वेदपरमात्मविषयतया शङ्करव्याख्याऽपि चक्रत्वा-संङ्गता। Bhg. III : 15;

(18) जय. - कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भव ब्रह्मणा वेदेन प्रकाश्य' इति परंपा व्याख्यानमसदिति भार्वनाऽह कर्मेति। Bhg. III : 15; The words of the G. Bh. are: ''कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवं ब्रह्म वेदः स उद्भवः कारणं प्रकाशकः यस्य तत्कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवम्॥''

(19) जय. 'ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम्' इत्यत्र 'ब्रह्म वेदः, अक्षरात्परब्रह्मणो जायते' इति परेषां व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाऽह-अक्षरणीति। I Ibid

(20) जय. - मायावादिना। तु प्राग्ब्रह्मशब्दोक्तस्य, वेदस्यैवायं परामर्श इत्यङ्गीकृतत्वात् यदप्यन्यथा व्याख्याने समुद्भवशब्दस्य मुख्यार्थतालाभ इत्यभिप्रेतं तदपि दुराशामात्रमित्याह - तानि चेति। Ibid -It is to be noted that Jaya. generally quotes tbe statements of G. Bh. only in substance.

(21) जय. - काम एव (एष) केनचित् पअतिहतः क्रोधत्वेन परिणमते इति परेषा (शङ्करादीनां) व्याख्यानं दूषयति - ये त्विति। Bbg. III : 37

(22) वे.दे. - 'मन्यमाः' इत्यत्र 'ईश्वराभेददर्शिनः 'इति शङ्करोक्तं शास्त्रोपक्रमादि विरोधाच्छब्दस्य चावाचकत्वाच्च निरस्तम्। Bbg. IV : 0

(23) जय. - क्रियायाः मिथ्यात्वात्कर्ताऽप्यकर्तेति पख्याख्यां प्रत्याख्याति॥ Bhg. IV: 13. The G. Bh. says: हन्त! तर्हि चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य सगादिः कर्मणः कर्तृत्वात् तत्फलेन युज्यसे, अतो न त्वं नित्यमुक्तः नित्येश्वरश्चेति। उच्यते - यद्यपि मायासव्यवहारेण तस्य कर्तारमपि सन्तं मां परमार्थतः विद्धि अकर्तारम्। IV: 13

(24) जय. - तथा च 'कर्मणां संन्यासं त्यागं' इति व्याख्यानमसदिति सूचितम्। Bhg. V

(25) वे.दे. - एवमव्यवहितात्मप्राप्तिसाधनत्वं वदता प्रकृतः संन्यासो ब्रह्मशब्देन उच्यते इति शङ्करोवतं प्रत्युक्तम्। Bhg. V: 6

(26) वे.दे. - सत्यमिथ्योपाधिकृतभेदवादिनोः भास्करशाङ्करयोः मतमनूद्य परिहरति - न चेदमिति। Bhg.V: 16

(27) वे.दे. - 'विपरीतोऽत्र क्रमशचैलादीनाम् 'इति च शाङ्करम्॥ Bbg. VI: 11

(28) वे.दे. - अतः सम्प्रेक्षेत्यव 'इवशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्यः' इति शाङ्करम्॥ Bbg. VI: 13

(29) वे.दे. - 'ब्रह्मचारिव्रते स्थितः' इत्यनेन ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमप्रतीतिः शङ्करोक्त प्रकियया वा ब्रह्मचर्यगुरुशुश्रूषाभिक्षाचर्यादिभिः स्यादिति तद्व्यवच्छे-दायाऽह' ब्रह्मचर्ययुक्तं' इति। Bhg. VI: 14

(30) जय. - अपरस्तु 'समग्रं समस्तं विभूतिबलशक्त्यैश्वर्यादिगुणसंपन्नं मां .. संशयमन्तरेण' इति तन्निरासार्थमाह - असंशयम् इति। Bhg.VII : 1 The portion quoted is taken verbatim from the G. Bh.

(31) जय. एतेन 'यस्मान्मय प्रकृती योनी सर्वभूतानां ततोऽहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा' इति व्याख्यानमपहसितं भवति॥ Bhg. VII : 6 The G. Bh. reads : यस्मान्मम प्रकृतिः योनिः कारणं सर्वभूतानां, अतोऽहं कृत्स्नस्य समस्तस्य जगतः प्रभवः उत्पत्तिः प्रलयः विनाशस्तथा।

(32) वे.दे. - केचित्, 'मयि सर्वमिदम्' इत्यस्य रसादिधर्मविशिष्टे भयि प्रोतमित्यर्थः, तद्विवरणं रसोऽहम् इत्यादि इति व्याचख्युः तत्परिहारायाऽह-सर्वस्योति। The G. Bh. reads : 'केन केन धर्मेण विशिष्टे त्वयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतमित्युच्यते रस इति। रसः अहम् ... तस्मिन् रसभूते मयि ...। VII : 8

(33) वे.द. - दिव्यमित्यस्य सूर्यमण्डले स्थितमित्ति शङ्करोक्तं निर्मूलम्। Bhg.VIII : 8

(34) वे.दे. - 'आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्म' इति परोक्तं तु स्थानशब्दवैघट्यादयुक्तम्॥ Bhg.VIII : 8

(35) जय. - 'प्रत्यक्षेणावगमो यस्य' इति व्याख्यानमसत्। Bhg. IX : 2

(36) जय. - तेनाध्यक्षशब्दस्याऽत्र अधिकियाया अविक्रियदशिमात्रपरतां वदन्तः प्रत्युक्ताः। Bhg. IX : 10

The G. Bhāśya reads : मयाऽध्यक्षेण सर्वतो दृशिमात्रस्वरूपेण अविक्रियात्मना... ...।

(37) जय. - 'गतिः कर्मफल'मिति व्याख्यानं अपाकर्तुमाह - गम्यते इति। Bhg. IX : 18

(38) जय. - महर्षयः सप्त भृग्वादयः इति शङ्करः, तदसत्। Bhg. X : 6

(39) जय. - 'अर्द गतौ याचने च' (धा.पा. १:५५) इति वचनात् आसुर-जनाना नरकादिगमयितृत्वाज्जनैर्याच्यत्वाद्वा जनार्दन इति शङ्करः तदप्रामाणिकं व्याख्यानम्। Bhg. X : 18. The G. Bh. reads : अर्दतेः गतिकर्मणी रूपम् - असुराणां.. .. नरकादिगमयितृत्वाज्जनार्दनः, अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसपुरुषार्थ प्रयोजनं सर्वैः जनैः याच्यत इति वा।

(40) वे.दे. - त्वत्तः श्रुतौ इत्यन्वयस्तु मन्दप्रयोजनः। Bhg. XI : 2 Rāmā construes त्वत्तः with भवाप्ययौ. G. Bh. construes त्वत्तः with श्रुतौ..

(41) वे.दे. - अत एव 'अद्वेष्टा' इत्यादीनां सर्वेषामप्यक्षरोपासकसन्यासि विषयत्व शङ्करोक्तं निरस्तम्। Bhg. XII : 18, 19

(42) वे.दे. - एवं शङ्करपक्षोक्तं दोषं भास्करादिपक्षेऽप्यतिदिशति - अत इति।
शाङ्करमते भेदश्रुतयः, सगुणश्रुतयः, अन्तर्यामिश्रुतयः..... ... विरुद्धा एवं॥ Bhg. XIII : 2

(43) वे.दे. - इदं यथाप्रमाणं वक्ष्यमाणम्, न तु शङ्कराद्युक्तमित्यर्थः। Ibid

(44) वे.दे. - 'योविकारो यस्य तत् यद्विकारि' न तु शङ्कराद्युक्तमित्यर्थः। Bhg. XIII : 3

(45) वे.दे. - 'ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि' इति कश्चित्। Bhg. XIII : 4

(46) वे.दे. - 'अनन्ययोगेनाऽपृथक्समाधिना' इति शङ्करोक्तमेतेन प्रत्युक्तम्। Bhg. XIII : 10

(47) वे.दे. - ये त्वेवं प्रयोजनमनभिधाय मतुपः प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थं इत्युक्तवन्तः तान्निराचष्टे - अन्यथेति।
Bhg. XIII : 12. The G. Bh. reads : तस्मात् मतुपः बहुव्रीहिणा समानार्थत्वेऽपि प्रयोगःश्लोकपूरणार्थः।

(48) वे.दे. - गुणाः सुख दुःखमोहाः इति कश्चित्। Bhg. XIII : 20, The G. Bh. says : गुणाश्च प्रकृतिसम्भवा सुख दुःख मोहात्मकाः।

(49) वे.दे. - 'क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगात्' इत्यत्र शङ्करेणोक्तं "आकाशवन्निरवयवतया अवयवसंश्लेषलक्षणसंयोगासम्भवात् क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोरितरेतरकार्यकारणभावानभ्युपगमेन समवायासम्भवाच्च विषयविषयिणोस्तयोरित रेतरधर्माध्यासलक्षणः संयोगः, तन्निवर्तनं च सम्यग्दर्शनं 'समं सर्वेषु' इत्यादिनोच्यते" इति, तदेतद्बालिशभाषितम्। XIII: 27. This is the gist of G. Bh. on XIII : 26. The statement is not taken verbatim from G. Bh.

(50) वे.दे. - यत्तु 'भूतानां प्रकृतिरविद्यालक्षणा अव्यक्ताख्या, तस्याः प्रकृतेर्मोक्षणं अभावगमनं,' इति शङ्करेणोक्तम् तत् ... ... ... ... ... अवधीरणीयम्। Bhg. XIII : 34 The words quoted are taken verbatim from G. Bh., except 1.bat G. Bh. reads भूतप्रकृतेः in place of प्रकृतेः

(51) वे.दे. - एतेन 'गुणाः' इति पारिभाषिकः शब्दः, न रुपादिवद्द्रव्याश्रिता इति शङ्करोक्तं निरस्तम्। XIV: 5 ; G. Bh. says that Gunes refer to त्रिगुणऽ of प्रकृति in Sāṁkhya system.

(52) वे.दे. - एतेन 'क्षेत्रज्ञं बध्नन्तीव तमास्पदीकृत्य आत्मानं लभन्ते' इति शङ्करदुरुक्तिर्निरस्ता। Bug. XIV : 5

(53) जय. - 'ब्रह्मणो हि' इत्येतत्' परब्रह्मणो हि' इति व्याचक्षते तदसत्। XIV : 27, G. Bh. uses the word परमात्मनः

(54) वे.दे. - अत्र प्रसृतादिशब्दैः सत्यत्वस्यैव प्रतीतेः परेषां इन्द्रजालदृष्टान्तः शब्दस्वारस्येन प्रत्यक्षादिभिश्च बाधितः Bhg. XV : 3 ; G. Bh. uses the illustration of इन्द्रजाल ("ऐन्द्रजालिकादिव माया।")

(55) जय. - 'तपो वक्ष्यमाणं' इति कश्चित् तदसत्। Bhg. XVI : 1. According to G. Bh., तपस् is what is described in Ch. XVII. According to Rāmā. it is कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादिकरणम् while according to Madbva. it is ब्रह्मचर्यादि.

(56) वे.दे. - यदिह शङ्करेणोक्तं' पदार्थाः सङ्ख्यायन्ते यस्मिन् शशास्त्रे तत्साङ्ख्यं वेदान्तः स एव कृतान्तः, कृतस्य कर्मणोऽस्मिन्नन्तः' इति तदसत्। Bhg. XVIII : 13

(57) वे.द. - तत्र यत्परैरूक्तम् - आत्मनोऽविक्रियस्वभावत्वेनाधिष्ठानादिभि संहतत्वानुपपत्तेः विक्रियावतः ह्यन्यैः संहननं संहत्य वा कर्तृत्वं स्यात्, न त्वविक्रियस्यात्मनः केनचित्संहननमस्तीति न संभूयकारित्वमुपपद्यते इति तदसत्। - Bhg. XVIII : 16 This refers to G. Bb. on XVIII : 17. The words are the same.

(58) वे.दे. - यत्तु परैरत्रोक्तम् 'आत्मनो हननकर्तृत्वाभावात्तत्कार्येणाधर्मफलेन न सम्बध्यते' - इति तदसत्। Bhg. XVIII : 17. This also refers to G. Bh. on XVIII : 17. न हन्ति हननक्रियां न करोति, न निबध्यते, नापि तत्कार्येण अधर्मफलेन सम्बध्यते। & C.

(59) जय. - 'कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इति कश्चित्, तदसत्। Bhg. XVIII : 18. According to Madhva, कर्म means कर्मकारण

(60) वे.दे. - एतेन 'ज्ञानं बुद्धेर्वृत्तिः, बुद्धिस्तु वृत्तिमती' इति परोक्तं निरस्तम्। - Bhg. XVIII : 29. The words 'ज्ञानं' & c are from G. Bh. on XVIII : 30;

(61) वे.दे. - एतेन 'यन्त्रारूढानीव' इतीवशब्दलोपेन व्याकुर्वन्तो निरस्ताः। Bhg. XVIII : 61. G. Bh. says यन्त्रारूढानि... ... इव इति इवशब्दोऽद्रष्टव्यः।

(62) वे.दे. - यदिह शङ्करेणोक्त - "मन्मना भव" इति श्लोकेन सर्वकर्मयोग निष्ठायाः परमं रहस्यं ईश्वरशरणतामुपसंहृत्याथेदानी कर्मयोगनिष्ठाफलं सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्ववेदान्तसारं विहितं वक्तव्यमित्याह - सर्वधर्मानिति" इति - Bhg. XVIII

(63) वे.दे. पिशाचरन्तिदेव - गुप्त - शङ्कर - यादवप्रकाश - भास्कर - नारायणार्य - यज्ञस्वामि - प्रभृतिभिः स्वं स्वं मतमास्थितैः परः शतैः भाष्यकृद्भि...... 'परिगृहीतोऽयमत्र सारार्थः - भगवानेव परं तत्त्वम्...... & C.।

It will be seen from these quotations that both Ved. Deś. (12 cent. A.D.) and Jaya. (about 14th cen. A. D.) clearly identify the author of the present. G. Bh. as Śaṅkara. Though both of them refer to the views of the G. Bh. as those of पर, अन्य, कश्चित् etc., also, the relevant passages belong to the same G. Bh. from which the passages explicitly attributed to Śaṅkara have been quoted, either verbatim or in substance, thus showing that only Śaṅkara is intended by the other words *** etc.

Regarding the identity of Śaṅkara also, there seems to be no doubt. As bas been said earlier, Ved. Deś. enumerates (last quotation above) previous commentators on the Bhg., in their order of time. Śaṅkara precedes Yamunacarya and Bhāskara, both of whom preceded Rāmā. a good deal. This shows clearly that Śaṅkara referred to by Ved. Deś. was no other than the commentator of the Br. Sū.s.

Another piece of evidence is supplied by Madhva himself. In his concluding salutation stanzas, he refers clearly to Gītā.-Nārī, purified by the wind proceeding from Śaṅkara24 the usual disrespectful epithet applied to him by Madhva, his biographer Nārayapapandita and Madbva's other followers. This epithet has been applied exclusively to Śaṅkara, the author of Br. Sū. Bh.

These two evidences seem to prove conclusively that Śaṅkara, to whom the G. Bh. is attributed by Ved. Deś. and Jaya., is Śaṅkara, the author of Bhāṣyas on Br. Sū.s and U ps, etc. and cannot be any other Śaṅkara occupying the seat at any of the four or five mutts established by him.

(3) This conclusion is very strongly reinforced by the evidence of later commentators, who refer to Śaṅkara as the author of the G. Bh. in the most unmistakable terms. A few instances may be noted :

(i) Puruṣottamji, a Vallabhite commentator quotes at the beginning of his commentary, the following extensive passage as from Śaṅkaracārya.

तत्र गीताशास्त्रं किंपरमिति पूर्वं विचार्यते, तत्र शङ्कराचार्याः
भगवान् सृष्ट्वेदं जगत् स्थित्यर्थं...... प्रयोजनसम्बन्धाभिधेयवद्गीताशास्त्रमित्यूचुः।

with very slight negligible variations. the whole of this passage can be identified with Upoddhata of G. Bh.

(ii) Madhusudana Sarasvati clearly attributes the G. Bh. to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda

---

२४. सङ्कराख्यस्य दुर्घोनिर्निःसृतेन रजस्वला। गीतानारी समीरेण शोधिता हंसरूपिणा ॥ ST. 1

(an epithrt exclusive to Śaṅkara of Br. Sū. Bh.s), whom he says be has followed 25 in writing his commentary and who, he says, has explained every word of the Bhg. [26]

( iii ) Sridhara (14th cent. A.D. ) refers to the view of the G. Bh. as tbe view of Bhāṣyakara 27 and this term also is applied to Śaṅkara only by the followers of Advāita school of Philosophy.

( iv ) Sadānanda ( 18th cent. A.D.), the author of Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-sāra, also refers in his commentary 'Gita-Bhāva-prakaśa ' on the Bhg. to Bhagavatpāda 28 and Bhāṣyakara 29 as the author of the G. Bh. '

(v) Dhanapatisūrin (18th Cen. A.D.) also, the commentator of Mādhava's Śaṅkśepa Śaṅkara Jaya (generally known as Vidyaranya's Śaṅkara Digvijaya) attributes the G.Bh. to Bhāsyakara 30 whom he has followed and tried to defend against critics.

(vi) Venkatanatha, author of te comm. Brahmanandagiri onthe Bhg. criticises Rāmā, and Madhava and defends Śaṅkara against their criticisms of the G. Bh. which he unmistakably attributes to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda. A few instances may be noted:

(1) Thus at Bhg. II : 11, Venk. criticises the interpretations of Rāmā & Maḍhva of रं 'गतासूनगतामूंश्च & etc. upholds that the G. Bh. thus : "तस्माद्यथोक्त एवार्थः इति शङ्करभगवत्पादीयव्याख्यानमेवानवद्यम्।"

(2) Similarly, Veṅk, defends Śaṅkara's interpretation of Bhg. II : 12 - *** & etc. in thesee words.

"तस्मान्नत्वेवाऽहं इत्यस्य दृष्टान्ततया व्याख्यानायोगाच्छङ्करभगवत्पादव्याख्यातो यथोक्त एवाऽर्थः।"

(3) while commenting on Bhg. IV : 6, he says the following :

अत्र च मायया सम्भवामि इति भगवतैव कण्ठरवेण देहग्रहणरूपस्य जन्मनो मायानिर्मितत्वोक्तेः मायामयमेव भगवतः शरीरमिति भगवत्पादैर्व्यवस्थापितम्; यदाहुर्गीता-भाष्यारम्भे - स च भगवान् .. ... वैष्णवीं स्वां मायां ... ... कुर्वैल्लक्ष्यत इति।

(4) At Bhg. IV : 18, Veṅk. approves of the interpretation of the stanza in that it follows the G. Bh. of Śaṅkara. He says :

"यत्तु पैशाचभाष्यं ... ... व्याख्यातम्, तदिष्टम्, अस्मदाचार्यस्वामिशङ्करभगवत्पाद-भाष्यानुसारित्वात्॥"

---

२५. भगवत्पादभाष्यार्थमालोचयातिप्रयत्नतः प्रायः प्रत्यक्षरं कुर्वे गीतागूढार्थदीपिकाम्। St. 1 beginning of the Comm.

२६. व्याख्यातं भगवत्पदैः प्रतिपदं श्रीशङ्कराख्यैः पुनः। St. 3 at the end of the Comm.

२७. भाष्यकारमतं सम्यक् तद्व्याख्यातृगिरस्तथा। यथामति समालोड्य गीता व्याख्यां समारभे॥ St. 3 beginning

२८. दुर्ज्ञेयार्थमिदं शास्त्रं व्याख्यातं भगवत्पदैः। पदशः ...॥ St. 35 beginning

२९. .... भाष्यकारीयसारांशं समादायैव केवलम्॥ St. 39. (Ibid.)

Instances of this kind can be multiplied to a great extent.

(vii) Lastly, the commentator of the MBh. Nilakaṇṭha Caturbhara (18th cent. A.D.) also attributes the G. B. to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda in clear terms. Thus at Bhg. VI : 30, he says:

''यत्तूक्तं भगवत्पूज्यपादैः ब्रह्मविदः कुत्राऽपि न योगापेक्षां न व्युत्पादयांबभूवुः। इति, तत्...... उक्तमिति न दोषः।

At many other places, he refers to him as Bhasyakara or to Bhāṣya or Bhāṣyamata and all the passages refer to the G. Bh.

The evidence of these later commentators, therefore, is quite explicit on the point at issue. It may be said that these persons have uncritically followed what the earlier people said and hence cannot be relied upon. The answer is that firstly, they are cited to furnish only corroborative and not substantive evidence and secondly, the fact that the , corroborate the evidence of men like Ánandagiri is sufficient to make their evidence reliable.

Jayatirtha seems to furnish to us some additional evidence. In his commentary, he has often referred to Bhāskara's interpretations by name and in two places, he quotes Bhāskara as criticising Śaṅkara. The two places are :

(1) While discussing the purpose of the Śastra i.e. Gītā-Śāstra (शास्त्रप्रयोजन) Jaya, quotes Bhāṣkara thus :

''यदाह भास्करः - शास्त्रप्रयोजनाभिधाने प्रस्तुतेऽवतारप्रयोजनाभिधानमसङ्गतमिति। संकरः (this epithet is notewotthy - माध्वs exclusivelyl apply it to Śaṅkara of Kālaṭi) कृष्णावतारपुरस्कारेण गीतायाः संगतिमाह।'' & etc.

(2) While commenting upon Bhg. III : 4 Jaya, writes :

''शङ्करस्तु अकरणमसन्न सन्तं प्रत्यवायं जनयति 'कथमसतः सज्जायेत्' इति श्रुतेः इत्यवादीत्' तद्भास्करः प्रत्यवेधीत् - द्रव्यविषया श्रुतिः ''गुणस्त्वसतोऽपि जायते'' इति & etc.

These two passages seem to show clearly that Bhāskara attributes the G. Bh. to Śaṅkara and considering Bhāṣkara's general timeposition in history (about 9th cent. A.D) Śaṅkara is easily identified as Śaṅkara of Kālaṭi.

(b) Unity of authorship of the Gītā-Bhāṣya -

The foregoing discussion, it is believed, is sufficient to prove tha the same Śaṅkara, who wrote the commentatire on Br. Sūtras, Br. Up., Taitti-Up., Chhan. Up. etc., was the author of the Gīt-Bhāṣya also. It now remains to say a few words regarding the unity of this authorship. That

---

३०. ईशावेकात्मकौ लोके सम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकौ। गीताभाष्यप्रकाशेन वन्दे श्रीकृष्णशङ्करौ ॥ St.4 beginning also आज्ञया भाष्यकाराणां ... । ... मया निरसनं कृतम्। Endking St. 1

the G. Bh. was written by one person is proved by both kinds of evidence, viz., internal and external.

**(I) Internal Evidence :**

Śaṅkara now and again refers to the interpretations or explanations of passages, to be given or already given by him at certain places. Such cross-references are sound evidence to prove unity of authorship of any work. The following statements of Śaṅkara can be quoted in this connection :

(1) तस्माद्गीताशास्त्रे आत्मज्ञानवतः संन्यास एवाऽधिकारः इति तत्र तत्र उपरिष्टा दात्मज्ञानप्रकरणे दर्शयिष्यामः ॥ G. Bh. II : 21. That Śaṅkara has carried out this pratijña is quite evident from the rest of the G. Bh., e.g. G. Bh. on II : 21 III : 17, 18 IV : 19, 20, 21 V : 1, 8 VI : 3, 4 & etc.

(2) "तथा च व्याख्यातं "वेदाविनाशिनम्" G. Bh. On III : 5, In both these places, Śaṅkara says that no karmans are possible in the case of a Jñanin.

(3) नित्यस्य च कर्मणः वेदप्रमाणावबुद्धत्वात् फलेन भवितव्यं इति अवोचाम। G. Bh. on VI beginning - the last words refer to his comm. on Bhg. IV : 18, where he says that even Nitya-karmans also give some fruit.

(4) यथा चाऽत्र भगवता क्रियाकरकफलात्मत्वाभाव आत्मनि स्वत एव दर्शितः- अविद्याध्यारोपित एवं क्रियाकारकादिरात्मन्युपचर्यते, तथा तत्र तत्र "य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारम्" (II - 19) "प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि" (III : 27), "नादत्ते कस्यचित्पापम्" (V : 15) इत्यादि प्रकरणेषु दर्शितः - तथैव च व्याख्यातमस्माभिः । उत्तरेषु च प्रकरणेषु दर्शयिष्यामः । G. Bh. on XIII : 2.

(5) सत्यमेव प्राप्त, एतदेव च "न हि देहभृता शक्यम्" इत्यत्र दर्शयिष्यामः । G. Bh. on XIII : 2, In both the places, Śaṅkara says that karmans are to be done by अविद्वान् and not by विद्वान् (self-realised)

(6) सर्वशास्त्रार्थोपसंहारप्रकरणे च "समासेनैव कौन्तेय ... ... परा" (XVIII : 50) इत्यत्र विशेषतः दर्शयिष्यामः ॥ G. Bh. on XIII : 2, In this connection read :

"तस्मादविद्याध्यारोपितनिराकरणमात्रं ब्रह्मणि कर्तव्यम्, न तु ब्रह्मविज्ञाने यत्न... ... । तस्माज्ज्ञाने यत्नो न कर्तव्यः, किन्त्वनात्मनि आत्मबुद्धिनिवृत्तौ एवं ॥ G. Bh. on XVIII : 50. The effort to remove Avidyā is naturally to be done by The अविद्वान् therefore, is left without any karman to be performed.

(7) अविद्याकृतोपाधिपरिच्छिन्नः एकदेशः अंश इव कल्पितो यतः । दर्शितश्चायमर्थः क्षेत्राध्याये विस्तरशः । G. Bh. on XV : 7. Particularly in his comm. on XIII : 2, Śaṅkara has said that all the individual souls are ultimatelly one Brahman. They are separate, as it were, only empirically i.e. due to Avidyā.

(8) तच्चोपपादितमस्माभिः "वेदाविनाशिनम्" (II : 21) इत्यस्मिन् प्रदेश, तृतीयादौ च ॥ G. Bh. on XVIII : 3. In all these three places, Śaṅkara says that a Jñanin is qualified for karm-sannyāsa only.

(9) म एष सर्ववेदार्थसारः (that karmans have to be performed by the Avidvān and a Vidvān is qualified for sannyāsa of all karmans ..... तत्र तत्र प्रकरणविभागेन दर्शितोऽस्माभिः शास्त्रन्यायानुसारेण । (Vide

references given under (i)

**(2) External Evidence :**

Ānandagiri has commented upon the entire G. Bh. as available to us today, including the Upoddhāta Bhāṣya, which contains sthe much discussed description of the Lord as Nārayana etc., and has ascribed it to Śaṅkara only. According to Ānandagiri, therefore, the entire G. Bh. was written by one person only, viz. Śri Śaṅkaracārya.

Reference has already been made to Puruṣsottamji's quotation from the Upoddhāta-Bha%Cṣya of the G. Bh., ascribing it to Śaṅkaracārya. The quotation contains the description of the Lord as Nārayana etc. The authorship of this passage has been stressed here because of the objection taken to the description.

The evidence of the later commentators already adduced to establish Śaṅkara's authorship of the G. Bh., will be found to prove the unity of authorship also. This, Ved. Deś. and Jaya., commentators of Rāmā, and Madhva, criticise the interpretations of the G. Bh., ascribing it to Śaṅkara from the beginning to the end.

Madhu. Saras's statement (already quoted) that Śaṅkara has commented upon every word of the Bhg. proves the same point.

Venkaṭanātha, the author of an independent commentary on the Bhg. has defended the G. Bh., from the Upodhāta to the end, against Rāmā. and Madhva, ascribing the same in its entirely to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda.

Similarly, other commentators like Sadananda, Madhu, Saras, Dhanapati Surin and Nilakantha Caturdhara citte or rfer to the interpretations of the G. Bh., which they ascribe at all places to Bhāṣyakāra Śaṅkara.

It will thus be seen that both the internal and external evidence shows clearly that the entire G. Bh. as available to-day, is by one person only, who is proved by other evidence to be Śri Śaṅkaracārya, the wellknown commentator of the Br. Sūtra and Upaniṣads like the Taitti., Chbānd. and Bṛhadaraṇyaka. Śri Śaṅkaracārya's authorship of the G. Bh., therefore, stands proved and the proof rests on very strong evidence.

# LIFE OF SHRI ADI SHANKARACHARYA

(Afersh version)

Dr. W. R. ANTARKAR, M.A., LL. B., Ph.D., Bombay.

## INTRODUCTON:

An English poet says:

"THE lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives behind us
Foot-prints on the sands of time."

Greatness is indeed very difficult to define æso divers the forms it has taken in the world. As, however Dr. Kurtakoti (Sri Sankaracharya,Nasik) says, āthere is a general notion of greatness as applied to human character.ā āThat which is the ideal of greatness should not be little with reference to anything. No amount of wealth or power in the world can influence them (the great) or can induce them to come down from the high pedestal of greatness on which they stand.' Spiritual giants like Shri Sankaracharya only can truly be said to be great in this sense. The lives of such persons are immensely useful and helpful to all, particularly to the sadhakas, on the pathway to God.

By reading the lives of the great, we live, in a way, in the presence of the great, which means great elevation of our being in return. As Vivekananda used to say, to say, every person is essentially divine but that divinity lies smothered up and has to be roused from its deep and delicious slumber and made conscious of itself. We have it on the authority of Shri Ramakrishna paramahamsa that the contact with the great spirituals mainly does that work of spiritual awakening-even with the greatest extrovert-the so-calles atheist. These great souls have an atmosphere about them and that continues and endures even in their written lives which are charged with the same and thataffects us for our spiritual regeneration. That is the greatest benefit that accrues form reading the biographies of saints. We have only to read thelives in the proper spirit and with the proper attitude. An intelligent reading has for us a number of lessons if we care to lern and to use them. Their lives show to us the true goal of life and at the same time set for us an example of singleness of purpose and steadfastness in the pursuit of the ideal of

which they are a living embodiment. They point outr to us the rigorous self-discipline that is neeessary so that we may check ourselves when we expect too much or too early by holding up to us the rigorous ideal to be reached.Their lives, lived in a true spirit of selfless dedication are more elopuent and effective than so many percepts and discourses, oral or written. If then we start practicing what their lives stand for with a sincerity of purpose and perseverance, their grace is bound to descend upon us to take us to the kingdom of everlasting bliss-no more to return to the care-worn world. With this end in view, a short sketch of the life of Sri Adi Shankaracharva, whose teachings are universal, is given and the plan of the biography, intended to be given here, is as follows:

In his book 'Age of Shankara' (published in 1916) the late Mr.T.S.Narayana Shastri, (then a high court pleader. Madras) tells us that of all the biographies of Shri Shankaracharya, those by Citsukhacharya and Anandagiri (respectively called Brhat Shankara Vijaya and Pracina Shankara Vijaya), are the oldest. The former of the two is said to be an cye-witness account, written as it is claimed to be by Citasukhacarya, a direct disciple and a close and constant associate of Shri Shankaracharya for about 25 years. Shri Shastri had this work with him and he has given in his book an English version of Shri Sharkaracharyaâs life according to the same. This version differs in many important respects from the versions of all the later Sanskrit biographies of shri Shankaracharya. At the same time, it strikes us as more natural and hence more genuine than the later ones. Critically-milnded people mauy feel like rejecting some parts thereof and yet it is refreshing enough to deserve a short summary. Unfortunately, Mr. Shastri's version is income plete and is available only upto Shri Shankaracharya's meeting with the great Kumarila. The account of his life thereafter has, therefore, to be supplemented form other sources. We are, therefore, to be supplemented from other sources. We are, therefore, giving below such a summary, with the necessary additions and with a few comments of our own in between.

**Life of Shri Shankaracharya**

In the Kerala pradesha, there is a small village called Kaladi, referred to as an agrahara. The place stood on the banks of the Churni river and was known for the two temples of shri Govinda and shri Vrishadrinatha on the northern bank. There lived in that agrahara a Brahmin pair,ä Shivaguru and his wife Aryamba, who had no isues for a long time. By the grace of shri

1. Regarding the genuineness of this work and the other work of Anandagiri, those interested in the subject are kindly referred to my article in the Arts Number of the Bombay University Journal, September 1960.

2 A second object in giving this rather unusual version is to try to trace, if possible , the said biographies of Cituskha and Anandagiri or to trace and contact the descendantsm, if any, of the late Mr. shastri. Ahy reader of this articlem therefore, who is likely to be able to help us in tracing either or both is most earnestly requested to do so.

Vrishadrinatha, Shri Shankaracharya was born to Aryamba in 5 0 9 B.C. at Kaladi. As the later biographers have suggested , it is quite possible that Shivaguru and his wife practiced some penance or observed some strict vow for getting an illustrious son. Similar cases of Divine grace descending upon such specially deserving parents are not wanting even in our own days. All such great sons have been born to great parents, who only deserved them. Particulars of Shri Shankaracharyaâs birth are given as : Vaishaka shukla Panchami (5th day) Sunday, 5 0 9 B.C., Nandana samvatsara, in the constellation Punarvasu and in the Lagna of Dhanus. The child was named shankara by the parents. The child had very handsome features and it delighted the parents very much.

He exhibited uncommon intelligence in his very first year and his father performed his initiation into the study of characters (Aksharabhyasa) when he reached his third year only. He was able to recite any work after hearing it only once (ekapatha).He learnt the secular branches of literature like grammer and rhetoric in less than two years. Thereafter, he had to be sent to the Gurukul for studying the Vedas. For that purpose, it was necessary to perform his threas-ceremony which sivaguru did in his fifth year only. He was then sent to a Gurukula,where Citasukha or Visnusharman happened to be his co student. At this place slso, Shankara masteres all the lores with surprising swiftness, within about three years only i.e. even

Before he had completed his eighth year.4 As a student, he had, by his genial nature, endeared himself to all his associates. He had also composed a small work called Bala-bodha Samgraha at 6 years only.

After finishing his training at the Gurukula, Shankara naturally returned home to his parents. It is possible there was some talk going on in the house about his marriage but Shankara had already decided to enter the order of Sannyasins and hence disliked the idea of householder's life. (Sivaguru seems to have passed away just about this time). Somehow, Shankara obtained his motherâs permission for Sannyasa and after performing the first death anniversary of his father Shivaguru, who passed away just in Shankara's eighth year, he left the house. Just before he left, he saw Lord Acyuta in a dream, who blessed him with a successful journey. He directed him to Govindamuni on the banks of the Narmada-river for initiation into karma-sannyasa. At this time, Shankara composed Acyutastaka.

While passing through Gokarna, he was joined by Visnusarman, who became Citsukha

---

3. All the later biographers give the name of Shivaguruâs father as Vidyadhiraja, who is said to have been a great scholor as his very name indicates and a great follower of the Vedic Religion. Shivaguru also is said to have been a similar Pandit and also a follower of the Vedic Religion. In the beginning, he is said to have been inclined towards life-long celibacy but yielded in the end to the desires of his father and the advice of his preceptor who told him that a spiritual life was possible for a householder also.

later. Shankara wandered in northern India for about a year at the end of which he met Govindamuni at Amarakanta on the banks of the Narmada river. Govindamuni was also informed by Lord Acyuta in dream of Shankara's arrival and directed to initiate him into Sannyasa. When, therefore, Shankara reached his place, he found Govindamuni waiting for him, in the company of his son Bhartrhari and other disciples. When Shankara and Govindamuni saw each other, their eyes were filled with tears. Shankara most reverentially fell at the feet of Govindamuni, who received him most warmly. Shankara stayed there for one year and then Govindamuni initiated him into karma-sannyasa, as directed by the Lord. Shankara stayed there for one year more. During the total period of two years, Shankara learnt from Govindamuni all Vedanta and other important works, then current. During this period again, he composed the Narmadastaka and a number of other minor works.

From among the works taught by Govindamuni, Shankara liked Gauda's Karikas on Mandukya Upanishad and he expressed to his Guru a desire to write a commentary on the same and also to see Gauda. Delighted by the suggestion, Govindamuni took Shankara to Badarikashrama, where he introduced him to his own 1 2 0 year old guru engaged in permanent Brahmanista. At Shankara's request, Gaudapada accepted him as his disciple and promised to teach him everything he knew. Shankara accordingly studies under him for four years and one day getting Gaudaâs permission for writing a commentary on the Karikas , did so. Delighted by his activity, Gauda asked him to write commentaries on the prasthanatraya, which task also Shankara accomplished. Shankara also wrote commentaries on Nrshima-Purva-tapni and Kausitaki-upanishads, Vishnusahasranama, Sanatsujata and hymns like Satpadi, Haristuti etc.,

Overjoyed to see this activity of Shankara, Gauda,5 took him to his own Guru Sukamuni and Badarayana Vyasa, whome Shankara praised by composing Dhanyastaka. Both the sages went through Shankara's commentaries and declared his commentary on Brahma Sutras a correct interpretation thereof. Thereafter, blessing him and bidding him to go to Kasi to spread his philosophy of Advaita, all three disappeared.

---

4. Many people have doubted have doubted this possibility and scholars have tried to interpret the same variously. All that, however, seems unnecessary. The rule of ordinary persons cannot be applied to figures like Shri Shankaracharya. The external education is just a formality for them. Jnaneshevara, another example of the same type, has explained the phenomenon in his own inimitable way as follows:

"A small bodily form appears and the dawn of self-knowledge breaks , like the morning light in advance of the Sun. Then, without attaining any age or any particular stage of life, omniscience woos the persons even in his child-hood. Due to the possession by him of an intellect, which has ripened in the previous life, the mind itself issues forth all lores an all the sciences flow automatically from his lips".

This is not mere poetry but a statement of a fact from personal experience for Jnaneshevara was himself an example in point. It is to be remembered that this description is given in connection with a Yogabhrasta. We have to judge for ourselves how much it applies to born siddhas like Shankaracharya. The writer is personally aware of a similar example, only about seventy years back.

When Shankara was left alone in that lonely place, longing for a Guru, he saw a mystic Guru in human form, holding in his four hands a rosary of pearls, pitcher of nectar, a sacred book and Chinmudra and seated on a stately tabernacle at the foot of banyan tree on one of the peaks of Kailasa and surrounded by holy and hoary sages like Vasistha. Vamadeva, Badarayana, Suka, Goudapada and others, seated, like disciples. Sankara approached this new Guru and praised Hin in his famous Dakshinamurti hymn, he composed at the time. Then, at the intercession of Sukamuni on his behalf, the Divine Teacher received him as a disciple and asked his attendants to prepare him for initiation into Adhyatma-Sannyasa. When accordingly he was so made ready by bathing him in the waters of the Ganges and smearing him with ashes, and he had once more renounced all worldly desires, he was presented to Him a second time. Sankara, then, not knowing how to worship Him composed a hymn called Para-puja which offered by way of worship. Then the Divine Teacher initiated him into the four Mahavakyas and presented to him the Sacred book, which was found to be the same as his own commentary on the Brahmasutra. Thereafter the Divine Teacher took Sankara to Mahakilasa where Sankara beheld Lord siva in all His divine glory and composed two hymns in praise of the same. Sankara was now d3clared a Jivan-mukta and orderd by Him to go forth as a paramahamsa parivrajakacharya. He was also blessed with a long life and sound health. 6

After taking his blessings, Sankara returned to the hermitage of Badarayana, where he found his companion Vishnusar

(Every person is not intended to work for the uplift of others. Particularly in the spiritual field,only those who have the divine sanction behind them are successful in leading people on a large scale to God. God or the Guru keeps behind his chosen person his great strength, which is essential for the purpose. The ordinary person should be content with doing the duty according to his station in life and while doing so should try to keep his mind attached to God. This is really the message left for us by these great souls and we should act as they have asked us to and not as they acted.) man as Chituskha, who was waiting for him all the time since the disappearance of the three sages and Sankara and to whom Sankara recounted all his adventures on Kailasa and Mahakailasa.

Just as the two were ready to go to Benares, Agnisarman, a relative of sankara. Came with bags of gold and jewels from his mother and told Sankara that his mother was very ill and desired to see him. Sankara immediately changed all his plans and dedicated all the money to Lord Narayana for reconstruction and rennovatio8n of the ancent Visnu he had obtained from the river Alakananda after diving into it ten times. After the consecration-ceremony was over, he

---

5. Shri Shankaracharya is a true disciple, who had no idea of self and his humility and surrender to his Guru personified. Complete surrender to the Guru without the least thought of self is a sine qua non of a good disciple who aspires to God-realisation. Such a person alone qualifies himself for the higher and higher benefits of Guruâs grace till he attains the Supreme.

placed Agnisaraman in charge of the temple and then with Chitsukha came to Kalati. Before he left Sankara had also created a hotwater lake just below the shrine of the Badarinatha temple for his aged Guru Govindamuni to bathe in every day in those cold regions of the Himalayas.

When Sankara came home along with Chitsukha, he found his mother grown extremely weak but still able to walk about in the house. Both were delightede to see each other and Sankara after touching her feet in reverence, embraced her with all filial affection. One day, being very ill, she requested sankara to discourse to her on things that would bring to her peace of mind. He explained to her through Tatvabodha, his philosophy of Advaita, in the simplest language possible. She however, found that too beyond her intellectual capacity and asked him to sing a hymn to Lord Krishna whom she had worshipped all her life. Sankara, therefore, composed a beautifulhymn (Krishnastaka) to Lord Krishna, at the end of which Lord Krishna appeared before her in his Divine form. The mother was filled with joy to behold the form and felt extremely happy and blessing her son in his grand undertaking , gave up her body like a yogin. In keeping with his promise at the time of renunciation, he perfomed her funeral rites himself in the backyard of his own house, in accordance with an ancient custom of Keraliya brahmins. At the time of setting fire to the pyre. He composed a small hymn in praise of his mother, which (hymn) is replete with very delicate filial feeling.

In the meantime, a young Brahmin boy named Sanandana come to Kalati and informed Sankara that Govindamuni was seriously ill at Amarakanta on the banks of the Narmada and desired to see him before his death. Sankara therefore immediately left for the place and arrived at it in one month's time Govindamuni lay unconscious on his bed, surrounded by his disciples watching his last moments. Immediately, however, he hears Sankara's voice he recovered consciousness, and sat up in his bed and embraced sankara. He then exhorted him to undertake a Digvijaya-Yatra throughout India and propagate his philosophy and instructed his disciples to follow sankara as their master. He then imparted to him the last lesson regarding duties of a sannyasin (Thriyasrama Dharmopadesa) blessed Sankara again and with Om as the last syllable of his liops. Quietlv passed away. It was Kartika purnima, Thursday, 495 B.C. When Emperor Harsa Vikramaditya of Ujjain heard of his father's death, he repaired to the place where his father's body was interred by his disciples and in memory of the last word Om uttered by him,

---

7 Sanandana was the son of a Brahmin pair Madhava and Lakshmi, belonging to a learned and arich family and living at Ahobils, famous for the temple of Lord Narsimha. The parents died early and he was brought un by his maternal yncle Divakaradhavarin. a disciple of the famous Mimamsaka, Prabhakarabhatta. He was married to his uncleâs daughter but could not get on with either and set out in search of a Guru. He came to pravaa where he came across pravhakara himself who could not, however, satisfy him. Then Lord Narsimha directed him to shri Shankaracharya. He , there fore . went to Badarikashrama to see him, only to learn from shri Govindamuni that he had gone to kalati. He then came to kalati alone to see Shri sankaracharya, who on learning his history, promised to teach him Vedanta philosophy and to initiate him into Sannyasa after he had seen Shri Govindamuji.

caused to be built the temple of Omkaranatha over his Samadhi[8].

Immediately after Govindamuni's passing away, Sankara. As previously promised. Initiated Sanandana into the order of Sannvasins and taught him the essence of philosophy by composing Atmabodha ofr the purpose. Sanandana wrote a commentary Vedantasara on this Atmabodha. From this place, Sankara started on his triumphant tour.

With Chitsukha, Sananda and others, Sankara came to rayaga, where on Maghi-Amavasya day, he bathed at Triveniand gave offerings ot his mother and Guru. Then visiting some sacred spots, he came and settled down at Bharadvaja's Asrama. At this time, he composed hymns like prayagastaka, yamunastaka etc. At this place, Sankara started propounding his philosophy contained in his various commentaries. He soon became famed for his Vedantic learning and students from different parts of India began to come to him for instruction. In the morning he went with his disciples for bath at Triveni. After the morning duties. He went back to the asrama and propounded his philosophy. In the afternoon. He held discussions with his disciples. answering their questions and clearning their doubts.

One day, Sankara, with his disciples, went to see the Aksaya-Vata, when he saw a young Brahmin, affected by leprosy all over his body, trying to end his life. On seeing Sankara, he appealed to him for mercy. Sankara was moved by his sight and by touching him, cured him completely. He turned into a handsome young man and people exclaimed 'Udaka' (***) free from karks of leprosy) which was the name he was called by thenceforward. Then Sankara at his instance, initiated him into the mysteries of Vedanta philosophy and made him a Sannyasin and his disciple.

Another day, Sankara had been to Pratisthana-puri (Modern Jhansi) where lived the famous Mimamsaka. Prabhakara. Hearing of Sankara's arrival, he went to see him and to convert him to his own view, according to which, performance of Karmans Viz., sacrifices, was the sole objective of human life. Sankara, however, argued with him calmly for a few hours and convinced him of the superiority of spiritual knowledge and that performance of Karmans brought about purification of the mind, which gave rise to Para Bhakti, which in its turn resulted in the realisation of the identity of the self with Brahman and that alone was the way to liberation. With Prabhakara's conversion, the entire agrahara, consisting of about 2000 followers of prabhakara, was converted to Sankara's faith.

The Prabhakara had a son called Prithvidhava (or 'dhara') who had suddenly stopped talking from his fifth year, and would neither eat nor play. Prabhakara had tried all methods to cure him but without success. He now fell at Śaṅkara's feet and requested him to cure his boy.

---

8 This is Chitsukhaâs version of the famous Omkaresvara Manir on the banks of the Narmada. Which is ,at present , regarded as on of the 12Jyotirlingas. The actual spot, as at present visible to the eyes, appears more like a samakhi than like a Lingam.

When the boy was brought to him, Śaṅkara by his very first glance at him realised that he was a self-realised person a-born siddha. Śaṅkara placed his hand on his head and asked him who he was. To the surprise of all present, he answered the question in 12 stanzas, which since then, have become immortal as Hastamalaka stotra. The boy then got himselt initiated into Sannyasa by Śaṅkara who named him Hastamalaka. Prabhakara, who was witnessing all this, requested Śaṅkara to make him also a Sannyasin and initiate him into the mysteries of Vedanta plilosophy. Sankara composed *** (Tattvopadesa) and taught it to Prabhakara, who renounced the world and destroying all his works on Purvamimamsa of which he now felt ashamed, followed Śaṅkara as his disciple. After his conversion, only one disciple of Prabhakara, called Salikantha stuck to the Gurumata and wrote a work called prakaran-panchika. Śaṅkara, after this incident, went back to his asrama, with his old and new disciple.

Yet another day, Śaṅkara was going to Kausambi, when he saw a pair of old brahmin parents, mourning over their dead son, kept in front of them. Śaṅkara pitied them and wished to help them out of their misery. Just then, an aerial voice broke out saying that compassion, which did not have the power to remove misery was useless. Śaṅkara immediately replied that God alone could show such compassion and if He but willed, the boy would rise. To the surprise of the parents the boy arose as sfrom sleep. All the people who witnessed it were full of happiness and soon the whole city of Kausambi b ecame a scene of bliss.

Something after this incident, just as Śaṅkara was resting in the morning one day, with his disciples on the holy banks of Triveni, under the shade of a Tamala-tree, news was brought to him that Kumarila, the great champion of Purva-Mimamsa was about to commit himself to flames in a secluded part of a village near Ruddhapur, probably one of the suburbs attached to Prayaga. Sankara hastened to the spot but only to find him already lying on a funeral pyre, made up of heaps of chaff (Tusanala) surrounded by Brahmins, chanting vedic Mantras appropriate for a Vedic prayachitta which Bhatta Kumarila was bent upon carrying out at any cost. Then, perhaps in reply to Śaṅkara's query, Bhatta gave him the following account of himself.

After the training in the Gurukula along with other brahmin boys he came out with all the Sastric knowledge and Vedic culture available at the then seats of learning. Further, he made a special study of the science of purva Mimamsa-Sutra and wrote an exhaustive gloss on Sabara's commentary, advocating therein the path of sacrificial rites, to the exclusion of the path of knowledge.

The Jains, at the time, who were highly critical of the Vedic religion, were growing from strength to strentgh. He wanted to check their success but could not.

They admitted no brahmin into their fold. Hence, he diguised himself as a jain monk and

got himself enrolled as a disciple of Vardhamana Mahavira, the new leader of the jains. Under Mahavira, he learnt all their religion and philosophy and was treated by Maha. with special favour. The other disciples therefore hated him. One day, Mahavir ridiculed the Vedic religion and Vedic Gods a little too much with the result that Kumarila shed tears. His colleagues noticed this and cautiously brought it to the notice of Maha., who now suspected him to be a brahmin heretic. He then conspired with his disciples to make short work of Kumarila, to prevent him going out with their secrets. One day, therefore, as Kumarila was resting in the moonlight the disciples took him to their Guru's terrace, where Maha. was enjoying rest. The disciples kept chit-chatting and playing for some time andthen getting a hint from their Guru. managed to throw Kumarila out of the terrace. Kumarila remembered his Vedas and just said to himself: "If the Vedas are true revelations, they will save me from death. "He came down unhurt except some injury to his eyes, due to their coming into contact with some hard object. Anyhow he escaped and ever since, became an uncompromising opponent of Maha. He launched a regular crusade against the Jains and drove them from court to court, with the hlep of kings like Sudhanvan of Dvaraka, whom he converted to the Vedic religion, which he preached from one end of the country to the other. During the contests with the jains, he managed to have the heads of jains cut off by their own oaths.

At the end of all his career, however, he began to feel very strongly that he had been guilty of the great sin of Guru-droha and considering that self-immolation in fire was the only way to atone for it, he was doing the same now.

# LIFE OF SHRI ADI SHANKARACHARYA

## III

hitsukaâs version is not available hereafter. None of the later biographers inspires confidence in regard to their accounts of Shri Sankaracharyaâs life, except for some broad facts. We have, therefore to be satisfied with only a rough sketch of his subsequent life. Making use of a few suggestions available from Chitsukha, we can state the same as follows:

Shri Sankaracharya had already started his triumphant tour (दिग्विज्य यात्रा) when he met Kumarila. There seems to have been no fruitful exchange with him. Kumarila insisted on carrying out his act of atonement but at the same time, directed Shri Shankaracharya to his great disciple Mandana and to Mandana he now repaired.

Mandana was a northerner and lived with his wife Bharati or Ubayabharati or Vani9. Both of them were very learned persons and lived in a palatial house-vidyalaya-which was a veritable seat of learning. Hundreds of disciples studied under the guidance of this great Mimamasaka, who practised what he preached-nay, for whom, what he preached was his lifebreath. When Shri Shankaracharya came to theplace, he made some casual enquiries about his residence and on being told some signs-which have been poetically described by the biographers later-he found out the place without much difficulty. Shri Shankaracharya appraosed Mandana of the object of his visit and Mandana agreed to the discussion, though, in addition to being impressed by the brilliant face of Shri Sankaracharya appraised Mandana of the object of his visit and Mandana agreed tothe discussion, though, in addition to being impressed by the brilliant face of Shri Sankaracharya, he may have been maused quite a little by the youthful audacity of the boy, still in his teens, who challenged him to a wordy fight. Mandanaâs wife acted the judge between the two but instead of sitting there throughout the discussion she adopted the ruse of placing a garland each round the necks of both, leaving the same to decide the issue.

Mandana was a great scholar indees but Shri Shankaracharya was a peculiar combination of learning and spiritual wisdom and with the help of the same, he convinced Mandana in a very

1 The name of the place of Mandanaâs residence has been given as Vijilabindu in Kashmir by the older biographers like Chidvilasa and we have accepted the same.

short time indees, 1 0 of the supremacy of self-knowledge over mere action, which qualified a man for the same by purifying the mind if only done selflessly and with a view to God. He showed to him that there was a beyond to action and that heavenly bliss was not all. He proved to him that manâs inner self would, in the long run, not to be satisfied with the temporary happiness that action at its maximum, could give. That self was infinite and permanent peace and would rise in revolt against an unmixed material life of short-lived fruits of action, which brought in its train, restlessness throughout. Sannyasa is only an outward sign of the true nature of the soul. Shri Shankarcharyaâs greatest achievement was that he brought the people back to a life of inward peace and higher wisdom from an atmosphere which was overcharged with almost an exclusive persuit of senselife and the restlessness of incessant activity and nothing but activity. The supremacy of such of a life and theory he established twice when he pocketed the two stalwarts convinced of his day-Prabhakara and Mandana. The latter was thoroughly convinced of his stand and became Sureshvara-a sannyasin at the hands of Shri Shankaracharya, whom he now followed as his humble disciple.

The next great thing that Shri Shankarachrya did was the establishment of mutts. He had revived the philosophy of the Upanishads and set it on a firm foundation by defeating in arugment the leading opponents thereof-the mimamsakas. He must have comtinued to comsolidate this work by overcoming the other disputants also. Then, however, remained the task of keeping the light of the knowledge burning through the succeeding genetations and for that purpose, he established the different mutts at the differemt cprmers pf tje cpimtry.

He established his first mutt at DWARAKA on the west coast and placed Vishvarupa (Mandanaâs brother, according to Chitsuka) alias Brahmasvarupacharya in charge of the same. This ब्रह्मस्वरूपाचार्य was later succeeded by Chitsukhacharya. (Chitsukha). Therefore, he seems to have gone to Nepal, the visit being referred to in the Nepal Vamsavali and in the Guru Vamsha Kavya of Kasi Lakshmana Surin. The former tells us that the visit took place in the reign of king Vrishabhadeva who named his son Shankaradeva in memory of the visit. Thereafter, Shri Shankaracharya founded his mutt at Badari-Kedara, (Jyotir mutt) and kept Totakacharya 1 1 in charge of the same. Thence he seems to have come to Benares, where a few interesting stories are told about him as follows :

One day, in the couse of his round in the city, Shri Sankaracharya came actoss a student of Grammer, studying the root कृ (referrde to as डुकृञ्करण) With his divine vision, he divined that his end was near and hence he adoressed to him the famous चर्पटपञ्जरिकस्तोत्र asking him to worship Govinda instead of wasting time on the study of Grammar. Like a true saint, he pointed out to him the futility of learning at the last minute of his life, when only thought about God would help the soul. The saints are mainly interested in the uplift of the soul and in the worldly well-being

2 It does not seem necessary to agree with the biographers who tell us that the discussion went on for weeks and even months. Secondly, none of them gives anything like a true or a reliable account of the same. We have, therefore, given what can be grthered as the substance thereof.

only in so far as it aids the former. The thoughe at death summareses the life-history of a man and decides his next birth and hence the saints help a person during his last moments by keeping his mind fixed on God through his name.

The second story relates to Sanandana. Shri Sankaracharya used to treat him with some special favour. The other disciples resented this through a feeling of jealousy. Shri Sankaracharya came to know this and wanted to set them right. One day Shri Sankaracharya had gone to the other side of the Manikarnika river. All the disciples had gathered on the opposite bank. Just then Shir Sankaracharya asked Sanandana to go to him. Without thinking even for a moment, Sanandana walked over the current of the river and reached his Guru. We are told that a lotus appeared underneath every step he took on the surface of the water and that thenceforth he came to be called Padmapada. The disciples realised immediately why Shri Sankaracharya treated Sanandana differently from themselves.

The power of true faith is far greater than we can imagine and is the very heart of true disciples like padmapada. We should not, therefore, dismiss or deride such stories as fabrications of fancy but should try to cultivate the same in ourselves by contionuous Sadhana, which is the results. Shri Shankaracharya placed Padmapada in charge of the Govardhanamutt, which he established at Jagnatha puri on the East coast on his way back to the south.

Shri Shankaracharya now came to Sringeri, where he established a mutt and one temple to Sharada, the Goddess of Learning-perhaps in honour of the revered wife of Mandana. The mutt was placed in charge of Hastamalaka, a life-long celibate नेष्ठिक ब्रह्मचारि सन्यासि - is to preside over the Sharada Pitha at Sringeri. The selection of a place so rich in the gransurprise in an intellectual like Shri Sankaracharya. Perhaps, it was here that the disciples wrote their philosopical works. There seems to have been some displeasure among the disciples over Sureshvara then wrote an independent work नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि and the Brhadarnyaka Upanishadas and Padmapada wrote only a tika on the Sutra-bhashya, of which the Panchapadika only is available today. 1 2

It is possible that Shri Shankaracharya visited some places in the south like Rameshvara before he came to Kanchi to spend hos last days in peace. After he came to Kanchi, he got the city rebuilt into two parts, viz. Sivakanchi and Vishu-kanchi the temple of Goddess Kamakshi-perhaps at the hands of the reigning king of the place and established a Mutt for himself at the place.

Kanchi has been considered, down all these ages, as one of the seven cities conferring

11 There are two versions about this disciple of Shri Sankaracharya. The one by Chidvialasa appears to be more natural. It is as follows :-
Totakacharyaâs first name was Kalanatha and he was the son of a Brahmin called Vishvanthadhvarin, who lived at Kasi. He kearnt about Shri Sankaracharya and came and surrendered to him. At that time, he praised Shri Sankaracharya in 8 stanzas in the totaka metre having the refrain भवशङ्करदेशिकमे शरणम् After serving him diligently for some time Kalanatha begged to be initiated into Sannyasa. Shri Sankaracharya was so delighted to hear this that he simply rounded him in a close embrace. He then duly made him a Sannyasin and named him Totakacharya in view of the initial stanzas he had composed in the totaka metre.

Moksha and was in those days a great seat of learning also. It seems better to agree with Chitsuka who tells us that the celebrated सर्वज्ञपीठ was at Kanchi itself and that Shri Sankaracharya crowned the achievements or his life by ascending that pitha. He must have become quite a well-known person by that time and none but very few persons could have thought of questioning him. One of such persons, perhaps a lady, must have been very shrewd to ask him something pertaining to the science of Eroties. Shri Shankaracharya could not give the answer consistently with his life-long celibacy. He, therefore, resorted to the body of some other person, perhaps of the dead kind Amaruka, obtained the necessary experience at first hand and even composed a poem, now going under the name Amarukasataka.[12]

Every person, however great, is bound by the laws of Time. Shri Sankaracharya had finished the great mission of his life, viz., the establishment of the supremacy of the way of God over the way of the senses and had set up five centres to propagate these ideals and then what unnerves us even to remember today, happened one day. Just when he had completed 3 2 years of his life in this world, he sat. One day, in a simple yogic posture in front of the Goddess Kamakshi and after a parting message to all about him to preserve in the path of God, left his body and this world for good.

Shri Sankaracharya was no more bodily and yet he lives in spirit even today. He lives in his message which he lived for and propogated every moment of his life and if we that are left behind revere him truly, it is upto us to try sincerely to translate his teachings in our lives till we reach the ideal he has set before us. That is the true way to revere him, that is what will make him truly happy and his long and strenuous life purposeful. Let us, therefore, earnestly pray to him only that our wandering mind be weaned away from the senses to God and laid to eternal rest.

---

12 It is very difficult to say anything about the story that is told that is told that when Padmapada had gone to his maternal uncle's house and showed him his commentary on the ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य of Sri Shankaracharya the uncle was much chagrined to find his own Guru Prabhakara criticised therein and that, therefore, burnt, in Padmapada's absence, his own house and the commentary therewith. The story may or may not be true. It only accounts for the fraction पञ्चपादिका only of the original work that is available to us today.

13. While giving the account of Shri Shankaracharya's I have purposely avoided the controversies. The unsatisfactory nature of the account particularly the latter part - is, however, quite clear and that is due to the scantiness of reliable material on the subject. It, therefore, shows how urgently necessary it is to unearth the older biographies particularly that of Chitsukacharya, which is claimed to be an eye-witness account and which, from the earlier version given herein, appears to be far more natural and appealing. Such of the readers, therefore, as may be able to help us trace the books or at least the descendants of the late Mr. Shastri (his grandson is reported to be somewhere in Mysore at the present moment), are one more earnestly requested to do so. We may be contacted through this Magazine.

# ĀDI ŚAṄKARACāRYA AND SARVAÑAPĪṬHĀROHAṆA (सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण)

By W.R. ANTARKAR

This is one of the controversial points in the biography of Śaṅkaracārya. There is a general, though not absolute, agreement among the biographers of Śaṅkaracārya that this was the crowining achievement and almost the last major event in his life, which came to an end very soon thereafter. There is, however, sharp difference of opinion as to where exactly the incident took place and the contest lies between Kāśmira in the north and Kāñcī in the south.

Suṣamā tells us that according to Bṛ.Ś.V. of Cit. and Pr. Ś.V. of Ānanda (both the works still not available) the incident took place at Kāñcī and so do some of the Ś.V.s. viz., Ś.Ca. of Gov. Ś.V. Vilāsa of Cid., Śan. Daya of Rāja. D. and Bṛ. Ś.V. of Br. Saras 2 Ś.V. of Ananta and Ācārya Vijaya Campū of Valli, omit the incident altogether, while 1 1 Ś.V. s describe the incident at Kāṣmira in the north.

From the third group, Bhg. Daya of Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin alone refers to Śaṅkara's ascension of the सर्वज्ञपीठ at two different places and on two different occasions. 3 The first was at Māhiṣmati and after the defeat of Maṇḍana. When, after the defeat of Man, his wife Sāradā is ready to depart for her heavenly abode, Śaṅkara calls upon her to declare herself defeated or to argue with him, because without defeating her, his omniscience (सर्वज्ञता) would not be established (VI : 6 7) and a little later, after a discussion between the two and after the incident of Para-kāyā-praveśa, Śāṅkara is said to have acquired omniscience which Śāradā also is said to have acknowledged. At the end of Ch. IV only, Śaṅkara is said to have desired to ascend the सर्वज्ञपीठ (st. 8 1) and even though he is not described anywhere in the whole context as having actually ascended the सर्वज्ञपीठ, the colophon at the end of Ch. VII is named सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण. As a matter of fact, there never was any सर्वज्ञपीठ at Māhiṣmati and not even one out of the remaining 1 6 Ś.V.S and made the slightest reference to or suggestion about the same and as such, all this story as found in the Bhag. Daya

is very confusing and inexplicable indeed.

The second and also the real nad actual सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण has been described in ch. IX (which is the last one in this work), at the end of Śaṅkara's life and as having taken place at Kāśmira. On this occasion also, Śāradā in actual form (मूर्तिमती) is said to have declared Śaṅkara to be omniscient (सर्वज्ञ), after he had actually ascended the सर्वज्ञपीठ. There is, of course, no debate between Śaṅkara and Śāradā nor the incident of परकायाप्रवेश on this occasion.

According to Mr. T.S. Nārā, Śāstri4 and Swāmi Sakhyānandaji from Trichur, it was Abhinava Śaṅkara, a later Śaṅkaracārya of the Kāñcī Pīṭha that ascended the सर्वज्ञपीठ in Kāśmira while Ādi Śaṅkara ascended the one in Kāñcī. They have based their statement on Śaṅkara Vilāsa of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa, said to be the biography of Abhi. Śaṅkara Vilāsa of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa, said to be the biography of Abhi. Śaṅkara which was available to the two. I have said enough about this work in my article on the date of Ādi. Śaṅkara4a. The contention of these two, writers is that there has been a lot of confusion between the life-accounts of Ādi Śaṅkara and Abhi. Śaṅkara and that the incident of सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण is one of the many incidents in the life of the latter transferred to that of Ādi Śaṅkara.

The incident proper involves an intellectual and academic debate between Śaṅkara on one side and scholars or Pandits in the different fields of learning like Śaṅkhya, Nyāya, Mimāmsā. The actual discussions, however, described by the biographers (i.e. Ś.V.s) as having taken place on the occasion between Śaṅkara and the Pandits are, at least to my mind, absolutely commonplace and more conjectural or even imaginary than real, showing the biographers' utter lack of any real and reliable information or knowledge about what actually took place on the occasion, even as in the case of Śaṅkara Maṇḍana discussion.

The timing of the incident and also what follows the same - where actually Śaṅkara went thereafter - vary somewhat, particularly in the case of the Kāśmira version.

Regarding timing, according to Vyā., Gov., Mād., Sadā., Nila., and Lakṣmana Sūrin (Bhag. Daya) Śaṅkara came to know about the सर्वज्ञपीठ in Kāśmira, with 4 doors in 4 directions and that the southern door only remained to be opened, the other three having been opened already by respective Pandits and the Pīṭha ascended by them after establishing their सर्वज्ञत्व. Śaṅkara, therefore, went to Kāśmira to open the fourth door and ascent the S. Pīṭha, by establishing his own omniscience. According to G.V.K., Śaṅkara first went to Kāśmira and then only came to know about the S. Pīṭha there and then went there to open the fourth door and ascend the S. Pīṭha. According to Cid., (who locates the Pīṭha at Kāñcī while according to Br. Saras., King Rājasena of Kāñcī built a new S. Pīḥha at Kāñcī at the instance of Sure. so that Śaṅkara could ascend the same.5

About Śaṅkara's actually going to Kāśmira, Vyā. says that he went there after the Hastāmalaka incident which, according to Vyā., was almost the last incident in Śaṅkara's life prior to सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण and then Śaṅkara is taken to Kāśmira from Śri-Valli Agrahāra where that incident (of Hastā) took place. According to G.V.K., Śaṅkara went from Puri to Kāśī and thence to Kāśi. According to Mād. Sadā., Nila., Śaṅkara went to Kāśi after his meeting with Gauḍa. at Kāśī (G.V.K. makes no mention at all of such a meeting) while according to Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin (Bhag. Daya.), he went to Kāśm. from Badari, after his meeting with Dattātreya at that place. Cid. and Br. Saras locate the सर्वज्ञपीठ at Kāñcī and while Cid. (called Śri Maṭha) at Śṛṅgeri, Br. Saras describes it immediatelly after King Rājasena has built the Kāmākṣi temple, the two cities Śiva-Kāñcī and Viṣṇu-Kāñcī and a new S. Piṭha as per Sure.'s instructions. As said earlier as per Cid., the S. Piṭha existed in Kāñcī already.

The incident of Śaṅkara's परकायप्रवेश with a view to answering a question pertaining to the Kāma-Śāstra of Vātsyāyana, put to Śaṅkara by one of the questioners, has been described by all the Ś.V.s. almost without an exception. The same has, however, been described by Gov., Cid., Rāja. D., Br. Saras, and Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin in connection with the incident of *** while the remaining about 10 biographers describe it in the context of Śaṅkara Maṇdm̐ana debate and as a kind of a sequel thereto. 7

Lastly, regarding the actual पीठारोहण, we are told by Vyā., Gov., Mād., Sadā., and Nila. that an aerial voice objected to Śaṅkaras ascending the Piṭha with his purity soliled by contact with the harem ladies and was allowed to do so only after he tendered a satisfactory explanation. According to Cit., Rāja. D., G.V.K. and Bhag. Daya, no objection was raised and ascended the S. Piṭha forthwith, Cid, and Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin adding that an aerial voice (Śāradā according to the latter) announced suo moti that was really omnisient and quite fit to ascend the Pitm̐ha and then actually did so. According to Br. Śaras., when the S. Piṭha was ready and was ready to ascend it, he himself invited all to a discussion and after some Brahmins on the bank of the Tamraparni river, who questioned him about his tenet of the identity of the individual and supreme souls, were satisfied by him, he had to argue with a very young boy quite for some time and satisfy him also before he could ascend the S. Piṭha, without any objection to his doing so on the ground of impurity.

Regarding what follow Śaṅkara's सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण Mād. and Nila. say that immediately thereafter. Śaṅkara went to Badari or Kedāra as per Lakṣmana Sūrin and then to the Himālayas, where he laid down his body. According to Sadā and G.V.K., however, Śaṅkara came back to Śṛṅgeri and while, according to Sadā, he went to Badarivana direct from Śṛṅgeri for his final exit from the world, according to G.V.K. he established a Maṭha at Śṛṅ. and placed Sure. incharge of the same, then took out the image of Nārāyana and asked Padmapāda to build a temple for the image at Badari, then went to Kāsī and then to Nepāl to have darśana of Goddess Siddheśvari and finally

went to the hermitage of Dattātreya,8 from where he did not return. Even according to Cid., Śaṅkara after ascending the S. Pitṁha at Kāñcī, visited a number of places like Cidambaram. Madyārjuna, Rāmeśvara, Madurā, Gokarṇa, Dwāraka etc., till he went to Badarī and finally to the cave of Dattātreya from where he went to Kailāsa i.e. laid down his body some where in the Himālayas. According to Br. Saras. Śaṅkara's Digvijaya-yātrā starated after he ascended the S. Pitṁha in Kāñcī. According to Vyā., he went to some pleasant country (रुचिरदेश) after ascending the Piṭha while according to Gov., Śaṅkara visited sacred places and finally came to Vṛrācala in Kerala in the south where he laid down his body. This is what the various Ś.V.s. have to say about Śaṅkara's ascending the सर्वज्ञपीठ.

According to Mr. R. G. Śarmā and Mr. R.K. Iyer, Kumbakonam mutt maintains that Ādi Śaṅkara ascended what Mr. Iyer calls a "duplicate" S. Piṭha at Kāñci which was created by Śaṅkara himself9. Mr. Iyer refers to Kumba. Mutt advocates while Mr. Śarmā refers to some propaganda books of that Mutt. Neither of them has specified the name of any advocate or book. A little later, Mr. Iyer quotes to the same effect from a book by Śrī N.K. Venkateśan Pantalu. His nook has not been named but perhaps, the same book an dits author are meant by nMr. Sṁarmā and Mr. Iyer. According to Mr. Iyer, the absurdity of the suggestion is heightened by the idea that his duplicate Sarvajña Pitṁha was created by Śaṅkara himself in his own mutt because no distinction or speciality can attach to ascending such a S. Oitṁha. Mr. Śarmā on the other hand, raises a query as to whether Śaṅkara was so egoistic (अहंकारी) as to create such a S. Piṭha himself and then ascend it."

Now, even of someone makes such a claim, we are not bound to accept it, only to be able to criticise it, because there is no support for it anywhere in the Ś.V.S. Out of 17 Ś.V.s. Bṛ. Ś.V. of Br. saras. only, says that Sure, asked the then Kāñcī king Rājasena to prepare a S. Piṭha at Kāñcī so that his Guru i.e. Śaṅkara could ascent it. Even according to his version, it was no Śaṅkara who created the S. Piṭha himself, Even this much has not been said by any of the other Ś.V.s. or by any other old work and hence we need not accept it. Even Suṣamā of Ātmabodhendra, which quotes as from Vyā. one stanza (not found in the printed edition thereof), which refers to Śaṅkara's ascending the S. Piṭha in his own Mutt at Kāñcī, does not say that the S. Piṭha was created by Śaṅkara himself there.

About Gov.'s statement that Śaṅkara went to Kāñcī, again (भूयः), adding to the splendour of Jambū-dvipa in Bhāratā - Maḍdala and known as Kaśmira Manṁdala, I have shown in my preface to my edition of Gov.'s Ś.Ca.12 that the explanations of this passage that it refers to Kāñcī, (कंची) Kāśmira in the north and not to Kāñcī, (काञ्ची) in the South (Mr. Śarmā's view)13 and that Gov. was confused and in a fix (Mr. R.K. Iyer)14 are both not tenable becasue the whole context refers to Śaṅkara's itinerary in the south and the explicit mention of Goddess Kāmākṣi clinches the issue in favour of Kāñcī, (काञ्ची) in the south, at least as far as Gov. is concerned.

As regards Śaṅkara's ascending both the S. Pīṭhas, viz., in Kāśmira and in Kāñcī, as said by Mr. Rameśan 1 5 and even Mr. A. Kuppuswamy 1 6, we have to set it aside as not supported by any Ś.V. They have just described or referred to Śaṅkara's ascension at both the places, without indicating their own preference or their own view in the matter. If that were their personal view, they have not given any basis for the same.

Mr. R.K. Iyer ascribes to the Kumba Mutt "novel view" that Ādi Śaṅkara Kāñcī, ascended the S. Pīṭha at Kāñcī, while Abhi. Śaṅkara Kāñcī,., one of the later Ācārya of the Kāñcī, Mutt ascended it in Kāśmira because Suṣamā, while commenting on st.64 of G.R.M., says that works like Vidyā, Śaṅkara Kāñcī, Vijaya, Śaṅkara Vijaya and S. Ś. Jaya have by mistake attributed ascension of the S.Pīṭha in Kāśmira to Ādi. Śaṅkara Kāñcī, 1 8 when it actually belonged to Abhi. Śaṅkara Kāñcī, Mr. Iyer here remarks that the advocates of this view forgot that they were thereby bringing down Ādi. Śaṅkara to the level of ascending a duplicate S. Pīṭha in Kāñcī, himself.

The second part of Mr. Iyer's criticism, viz., self-creation of the S. Pīṭha by Śaṅkara Kāñcī, has been answered already. Regarding the 'duplicate' S. Pīṭha, if at all there was really in existence any S. Pīṭha at Kāñcī, in Śaṅkara's time, there is no reason for calling it a diplicate S. Pīṭha because in that case, we do not know which of the two S. Pīṭha was the earlier one, presuming that both the S. Pīṭhas existed simultaneously in Śaṅkara's time nd hence Śaṅkara's ascending the one at Kāñcī, need not be said to have been below his dignity. And even if it were provable that the one at Kāñcī, was the later one, it is not clear how it can be saidsaid to be of a lower status and how Śaṅkara's dignity was imparied by ascending the same.

Regarding the two Śaṅkaras, it is not merely an idea hit upon by the Kumba. Mutt people. Mr. T.S. Nārā. Sāstri has also said that the life accounts of Ādi Śaṅkara Kāñcī, and Abhi. Śaṅkara have been mixed up by the later biographers and he also says that it was Abhi. Śaṅkara Kāñcī, who ascended the S. Pīṭha (Kāśmira) while Ādi Śaṅkara ascended the one in Kāñcī, only and he has said this on the basis of a work called Śaṅkara Kāñcī, Vilāsa by Vākpati Bhaṭṭma. In recent times, Swāmi Sakhyānanda of Trichur has also confirmed Mr. Śāstri regarding the mixing up of the life-accounts of the two Śaṅkara. I have written at length about the Śaṅkara Vilāsa and the Swāmiji's acquaintance with it in my article on the date of Śaṅkaracārya and Mr. R.G. Śarmā's role in regard to the same.

Another argument of the critics is that if there had been S. Pīṭha in Kāñcī, why should Rāmānuja, the great Visiṣṭādvaitā philosopher and a regular resident of Kāñcī, have travelled all the way of Kāśmira to ascend the S. Pīṭha there Mr. Iyer says first that Rāmā. went to the Śāradā Pīṭha in Kāśmira for the Bodhāyana Vṛtti, said by him only to be an extensive commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, before writing out his own 'Śri Bhāṣya 1 9 but just a little later, he says, "If there

were a Śāradā Pīṭha or S. Pīṭha in Kāñcī, his own town, he need not have trouble himself to go so far as Kāśmira, either to get Bodhā's Vṛtti or to get the appreciation of the Goddess of learning. 20 What connection there is between the S. Pīṭha and the availability of the Bodhā. Vṛtti is not clear. The extracting from the biography or Rāmā. cited by Mr. Iyer says clearly that Rāmā. went to Kāśmira to get the vṛtti because "it is hard to get in this part of the country and that it is preserved with great care at the Śārada Pīṭha at Kāśmira. 21 As Śaṅkara's date is still unsettleed, it is very difficult to speak about "his times". The latest date assignable to Śaṅkara at present and also generally accepted by scholars so far is 788 A.D. to 820 A.D. Prof. Umesh and Mr. R.G. Śarmā take it backwards by about a century (about 683 A.D,.) if all this is true and as Rāmā.'s date is fixed (1017 A.D. to 1138 A.D.), there is a gap of five or six centuries between Śaṅkara Kāñcī, and Rāmā. If Śaṅkara Kāñcī, belongs to a still earlier period, the gap will be wider. What the position of the S. Pīṭha at Kāñcī, was (if at all it were there because except the few but clear references to it in certain Ś.V.s. ther eis so far no evidence for the same) is not known and hence, it is not easy to say whether it had ceased to exist by the 11th century A.D., on account of which Rāmā. ascended it in Kāśmira when he had gone there. This possibility cannot be ruled out in veiw of the fact that history has been turned into legend at a numbe rof palces throughout the world, including India. When sites which definitely existed just 50 years ago could not be traced even after intensive efforts 22, it is not quite impossible that a S. Pīṭha has, during 5 or 6 centuries, vanished into oblivion without a trace. It may be remarked in passing that the same argument can apply to the original location of the Kāñcī, Śaṅkara Mutt and also to the exact place where Śaṅkara's body was interred.

Mr. R.G. Śarmā has tried to show that there was a S.Pīṭha in Kāśmira from very olden times. According to him, the second name उपनाम of Kāśmira is सरस्वती or शारदादेश, शारदा being the presiding deity of the place. A Śāradā Mandira from time immemorial is still in existence in Kāśmira, in the midst of mountain-forests. Rājastangini also contains a description of this temple. Its existence is also borne out among other things, by great Pandits coming from that place. We get evidence of the existence of a S. Pīṭha on the Gopādri also. The Muslim rulers used to call the S.Pīṭha by the name Takht-i-Sulaiman. It is clear from history and the Purānas that great and learned Pandits, sages and so on, used to come to the Śārad-pitha in Kāśmira. All this proves that the S. Pitm̐ha was in Kāśmira only. It is gathered from the history of Kāśm. and other works that Pandits of the calibre of Ādi Śaṅkara Kāñcī, used to stay in Kaśmira and a S. Pīṭha deserves to be at such a place.

Mr. Śarmā then cites a reference in the Rāja T. to a temple, which, he says, is called Śaṅkara hill and then he cites the statement of General Cunningham and Gen. Cole that according to Mahomedan authorities, king Gopāditya built a temple or the mound near the capital of Kāśmira, called the Takht-i-Sulaiman. Then he cites a quotation from an article by

V.V. Iyer to the effect that "The Śaṅkara Kāñcī, temple, built by Jalayuka, son of Aśoka about 2 2 0 B.C. stands on a hillock Takht-i-Sulaiman. 2 3

The purpose of quoting (of course in translation the, original is in Hindi) from Mr. Śarmā is to bring out certain points.

Even though it may be conceded that a Śāradā Mandira (or a Saraswati Mandira) did exist in Kāśmira from very olden - even pre - Śaṅkara times and that the place was visited by great Pandits, it is not understood how the conclusion drawn by Mr. Śarmā that S. Pīṭha also existed there or that the Śāradā Mandira was indeed a Śāradā Pīṭha and was the same as S. Pitha, can be validly drawn from the same. Muslim rulers calling it S. Pīṭha is no evidence of its very early existence. Similarly, great Pandits & sages etc., visiting the place and even staying there is also no proof of the existence of a S. Pīṭha. The existence of such a S. Pīṭha might have drawn scholars and sages there but their existence of such a S. Pīṭha might have drawn scholars and sages there but their existence there does not necessarily prove the existence of a S. Pīṭha there. If that were so, a similar S. Pīṭha should have existed in Kāśī and Kāñcī also. About te Pandits by Benares, even Mr. Śarmā agrees that they were as great i.e. learned as those in Kāśm. About his comments on Kāñcī, Pandits. I shall say something shortly. Except his statement about the Muslim rulers and the subsequent deduction there from, Mr. Śarmā has not produced - perhaps he could not produce - any direct piece of evidence that Śarādā temple in Kāśm. was also a S. Pīṭha, which therefore, can be said to have existed there from days of old.

Mr. Śarmā's subsequent citations seem to link up, the temple mentioned in Rāja. T. and now called Śaṅkaracārya Hill with a very ancient temple built by Jalaska about 2 2 0 B.C., which still later has been shown to be the same as Śaṅkara temple. All this would mean that Śaṅkara came before 2 2 0 B.C. Is this acceptable to Mr. Śarmā, who has assigned Śaṅkara came before 2 2 0 B.C. Is this acceptable to Mr. Śarmā, who has assigned Śaṅkara Kāñcī, to about 6 8 3 A.D. (birth) Will this be acceptable to the advocates of the Śṛn. - Mutt, whose earlier date for Śaṅkara viz., 4 4 B.C. to 1 2 B.C. also is quite late for 2 2 0 B.C. and earlier while their present official date 7 8 8 A.D. to 8 2 0 A.D. is also far removed from 2 2 0 B.C. and earlier.

Lastly, Mr. Śarmā has, on the basis of Mahomedan authorities, identified the S. Pīṭha with Takht-i-Sulaiman, which has also been said to have been built by Gopāditya in the 4th cent,. B.C. and then he cites Mr. Iyer to say that the Śaṅkara temple stood on the base hillock Takht-i-sulaiman. Does Mr. Śarmā hereby want to identify all four viz., Sāradā Mandira / Pitha, S. Pīṭha, Takht-i-Sulaiman and the Śaṅkara temple?

Prof. Umesh has, however shown tha tthe Rāja. T. contains no reference to any Śaṅkara Mandira in Kāśmira. The Mandira that is said to have been built in Kāśmira either by king Gopāditya (4th cent. B.C.) or by Jalanka (about 220 B.C.) was, according to Rāja. T. a Śiva (Jveṣtheśvara) temple only and also that the hill on which it was built, was then referred to as Gopa Hill and not as Śaṅkara. Hill. The so called Śaṅkara Mandira is a very recent affair only.24

If all this is true, Mr. Śarmā's argument about a Śaradā Mandira / Pitha and a S. Piṭha being there, in Kāśmira from very olden times cannot hold, A. Śaṅkara Hill or Śaṅkara Mandira is then a far cry.

In the matter of this S. Piṭha, the one object of Mr. Iyer and Mr. Śarma is to prove that there has been in India one such S. Piṭha only and that is the Śāradā Piṭha in Kāśmira and no other at a place like Kāñcī. It is undeniable that at present, only one such S. Piṭha - at Kāśmira - is known, the other one at Kāñcī, being not known to anyone. Most of the arguments of Mr. Iyer have been noted and discussed earlier. They cover similar arguments of Mr. Śarmā and are answered likewise.

Cid. describes Śaṅkara's ascension of the S. Piṭha in Kāñcī and his narration, extending over 16 stanzas is clear and beyond doubt.25 Referring to this, Mr. Śarmā says that while describing the said incident, Cid. says that the incident of Śaṅkara's arguing earlier and defeating the stalwart Pandits (दिग्गजविद्वान्) of S. Piṭha (at Kāśm.) can very well compared with that of his arguing with the defeating the Pandits of Kāñcī,. Kāñcī, is just a proto-type of S. Piṭha.26 In this statement, Mr. Śarma wants to insincate two things, viz., firstlyl that though Śaṅkara had an encounter with Pandits at both the places Kāśm. and Kāñcī, the former Pandits were दिग्गजविद्वान् or प्रकाण्डपण्डित while the latter were विद्वान् or pandits only 27 and secondly that there was no S. Pitha at Kāñcī, because, according to him, there was only one S. Pitha and that was in Kāśm. All this is, however, absolutely baseless because the 16 stanzas referred to earlier, which describe Śaṅkara's encounter in Kāñcī, make not the slightest reference to any earlier conquest of दिग्गजविद्वान् of any S. Piṭha by Śaṅkara. The stanzas tell us clearly that when Śaṅkara desired to ascent the S. Piṭha in Kāñcī, (the context and mention of a S. Piṭha are absolutelly clear and beyond any doubt), an aerial voice sugggested to him that it would be proper for him to do so, only after overcoming all the learned persons on the earth in all the fields of learning (stt. - 47, 48). Then, Śaṅkara is said to have overcome in debate some scholars - they were dualists - who came to him from the Tāmraparṇi river and then he ascended the S. Piṭha, when there was a shower of flowers on his head from heaven (st. 61). There is not only a clear reference whatever anywhere else in Cid.'s work to any S. Piṭha in Kāśm. nor to Śaṅkara's ascending it there. Mr. Śarmā's treatment of the whole subject is deliberately unfaithful to Cid.'s text and hence unfounded.

Mr. Śarmā's statement that Śaṅkara had once ascended the S. Piṭha in Kāśm. and

hence could not have done so again in Kāñci,, is also not true. Śaṅkara's ascending the S. Piṭha must have been the last major incident and achievement in his life. And, once again, this becomes linked up with the place of his passing away. It is, in my opinion, more likely that Śaṅkara passed away in Kāñci, and as such, his ascension of the S. Piṭha also is very likely to have taken palce there only.

Moreover, when did Śaṅkara go to Kāśm. to ascend the S. Piṭha there and then come down Kāñci, to repeat a discussion with the Pandits there? According to all the Ś.V.s. he went to Kāśm. once only but then, he did not come down to the south again thereafter. Even according to those Ś.V.s. which locate the S. Piṭha at Kāśm., describe Śaṅkara's visit to Kāñci, towards the end of his life but necessarily prior to his visit to Kāśm. As such, how could he be said to have repeated at Kāñci, what he did in Kāśm? On the contrary, it is possible to suggest, on the authority of the Ś.V.S. of Cid. Ananta and Br. Saras (besides Bṛ. Ś.V. of Cit. and Pr. Ś.V. of Ananda on the authority of Mr. T.S. N. Śāstri) that Śaṅkara went to Kāśm. quite early in his life to meet Maṇdana Miśra who is said to have lived there at a place called Vijilabindu. The affix Miśra in his name also shows that he must have hailed from Kāśm. And, then, considering the difficulties in travelling then also particularly that a very intelligent person that Śaṅkara was, he must have planned all his activities well in advance. He is not likely to have gone to the north again and visited Kāśm. a second time once again to come down to the south after defeating the various adversaries in argument and establishing the three mutss at Dwārakā, Badari and Puri. After establishing the 4th mutt at Sṛṅgeri, where he may have stayed for some time and then visiting some important places like Rāmeśvara, he must, in all probability, have come to Kāñcī, where he must have decided to spend the last days of his life. And during this stay, he must have ascended the S. Piṭha, which was presumably there already.

Now about Mr. Śarmā's comments on the S. Piṭha at Kāñcī.

Firstly, Mr. Śarma argues that Kāñcī may have had learned persons staying there but there is no authority for the presence thereof दिग्गजविद्वान् or सर्वज्ञपण्डितs as there were in the north. Śaṅkara may, therefore, have argued with scholars at Kāñcī and from elsewhere but he did so at many other places also. Mere discussions, however, with learned people and defeating them does not justify the existence of a S. Piṭha also there. There were such दिग्गजविद्वान्s or सर्वज्ञपण्डितs at many places like Kāśī, Darabhangā. Kāmarūpa (Assam), Navadvipa, Māyāpuri (Haridwāra) and so on and yet, there was no S. Piṭha at these places. There ought to be some characteristic (lakṣana) of such an existence of a S. Piṭha and such characteristic is not available at Kāñcī.

Secondly, the existence of a S. Piṭha (at Kāñcī) near Sṛṅgeri, which is Dakṣināmnāya Śṛṅ. Matha and for which there is evidence to prove that it is व्याख्यानसिंहासनपीठ appears to be impossible. We can only say that the place Kāñcī was similar to S. Piṭha, where Śaṅkara defeated many learned opponents.29

Thirdly, the mere mention of a S. Piṭha shows that such a S. Piṭha can be one only and it has been proved with evidence (प्रमाण) that the S. Piṭha was in Kāśm. It follows, therefore, that there could not be another S. Piṭha at Kāñcī.

Fourthly, Cid.'s mention of an ascension of S. Piṭha at Kāñcī cannot mean that there was a separate S. Piṭha in Kāñcī. Once Śaṅkara ascended the S. Piṭha in Kāśm, and once he was declared by the दिग्गजविद्वान्s there to be omniscient (सर्वज्ञ), his ascending it a second time was impossible because S. Piṭha was one only. Hence from Cid.'s reference to Śaṅkara's ascension of S. Piṭha in Kāñcī, it is gatherd that his success in Kāñcī was similar to his ascension of S. Piṭha in Kāśm. Ḍinḍima, the commentary on S.Ś. Jaya of Mād. has decided on the strength of ancient works that S. Piṭha was in Kāśm.

Lastly, even if it is conceded that there was a S. Piṭha in Kāñcī, and that Śaṅkara ascended it there, it does not prove that Śaṅkara had established a Matha also there, in accordance with the Āmnāyas. All standard works refer to S. Piṭha in Kāśm. but none says that he had also established an Āmnāya Maṭha where he ascended the S. Piṭha. Ascending a S. Piṭha and establishing an Āmnāya Maṭha are two altogether distinct things and hence mere ascension of a S. Piṭha in Kāñcī,Śaṅkara does not necessarily imply the existence of a Maṭha also there.30 Cid. mentions ascension of S. Piṭha in Kāñcī but says clearly that he established 4 Mutts only.31

My view in this matter is as follows :

Firstly, what is Mr. Śarmā's measuring tape for deciding as to whether any विद्वान् is a दिग्गजविद्वान् or a पण्डित is a सर्वज्ञपण्डित and on what grounds does he says that there were in Kāñcī at the time of Śaṅkara, which is still undecided, विद्वान्s only and no दिग्गजविद्वान् or that the ones in Kāśī, Darabhaṅga and other places were दिग्गजविद्वान्s? How does he know or assess their worth as scholars, particularly at such a great distance of time? In ancient times, Kāñcī has been said to have been not a मोक्षपुरी only but a meeting place of great scholars - of course, Mr. Śarmā will dismiss them as विद्वान्s only - but no other place in the south has been equally renowned. And if there were no such great Pandits in the south, is it intended to suggest that the very absence of such Pandits in the south including Kāñcī was the reason for the 4th door remaining unopened till Śaṅkara's time? And, then, whence the expectation of a Pandit from the south to open that 4th door?

Now, if दिग्गजविद्वन्s were present in the north only, what about the east and the west? The eastern and western doors of the S. Piṭha had already, been opened, testifying to the existence of such दिग्गजविद्वन्s. Are they also to be assigned to the north only? In that case, there should have been one door only; for the northern दिग्गजविद्वन्s or at least, those other two doors, even like the southern door, should have remained unopened. It is noteworthy that in the case of the S. Piṭha in Kāñcī, no such distinction has been mentioned. The person who desired so ascend the same, was just required to prove his omniscience by defeating any scholars that challenged his claim thereto.

It is also worth nothing that the three doors of the S. Piṭha in Kāśm. are said to have been opened by contestants coming from the three directions but not a single line by way of describing the contests or even the names of the claimants to and occupants of the S. Piṭha and their opponents or the time when they ascended the same, much less about the actual debates, has been given in any of the Ś.V.s. Even the account of Śaṅkara's encounter with the Pandits - at Kāśm. or in Kāñcī - is so tantalisingly meagre and appears to be given more from imagination than from actual knowledge. The only poiont described somewhat at length is the one pertaining to the question about Kāma Śāstra. And all this is in shapr contrast with the very detailed account of the incident of Śaṅkara's परकायाप्रवेश when described in the context of the incident of S. Piṭha.

Thirdly, nobody can reasonably argue that a S. Piṭha must necessarily exist wherever the दिग्गजविद्वान्s are present. Mr. Śarmā has insisted on certain characteristics for the existence of a S. Pitṁha but has not said what, according to him at least, these characteristics, are. Certainly, the presence of दिग्गजविद्वान्s is not one of htem and hence, a S. Piṭha can exist even without them. If the existence of a Śāradā Mandira is such a characteristic, ther ewas and is today also in Kāñcī Goddess Kāmākṣi, who is at least equal to if not higher than Śāradā. Moreover, it has been shown already that whatever Mandira was built by king Gopāditya or King Jalanka was a Śiva (Jyeṣtheśvara) Mandira only and neither a Śāradā Mandira nor a Śaṅkara Mandira.

Regarding the nearness of the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha, it became a व्याख्यानसिंहासनपीठ quite late - almost in the 14th cent. A.D. and दक्षिणाम्नाय still later. In fact, there was no Śṛṅgeri Maṭha as such till 1346 A.D. even according to the very authoritative advocates of that Maṭha. It was till then a cluster of hermitages only. In that case, there is no point in arguing that there could have been no S. Piṭha at Kāñcī, in the proximity of the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha. Moreover, there appears to be no inherent contradiction or inconsistency between the existence of Śṛṅgeri Maṭha at Śṛṅgeri and S. Piṭha at Kāñcī, nor any such impossibility either. The argument could have carried some weithg if there were a S. Piṭha at Śṛṅ. also at the time of Śaṅkara.

Mr. Śarmā's comments on Cid.'s reference to a S. Pīṭha in Kāñcī have been answered already. In the light of the explicit reference in Cid. to Śaṅkara's ascending the S. Pīṭha at Kāñcī and that too for the very first time in his life, neither Mr. Śarmā nor anyone else has any right to interpret it differently so as to dilute it to suit anyone's personal theory. Moreover, Mr. Śarmā's statement that Śaṅkara's success in Kāñcī was similar to his ascending the S. Pīṭha in Kāśm. will amount to an admission, though perhaps unwillingly, that Śaṅkara's opponents there were दिग्गजविद्वान्s, which, however, he has denied.

Lastly, though Śaṅkara's ascending the S. Pīṭha in Kāñcī, even like his passing away in Kāñcī, does not prove that he established an Āmnāya Maṭha also there, it may lead to an inference to that effect. As said already, the ascension of the S. Pīṭha must have been the last major incident in Śaṅkara's life. If the S. Pīṭha was in Kāñcī, Śaṅkara's ascending the same implies his stay there during the last days of his life and that further implies a possibility that he established a Maṭha also there for his own stay. It is thus that the ascension of S. Pīṭha implies a Mutt also in Kāñcī.

It may be true that Śaṅkara did not establish an Āmnāya Maṭha where he ascended the S. Pīṭha. In the first place, besides Kāñcī, Kāśm. is the only place where be possibly ascended a S. Pīṭha and it is beyond dispute or doubt that he did not establish an Āmnāya Maṭha there. Ascending a S. Pīṭha and establishing an Āmnāya or any other Maṭha are, as said by Mr. Śarmā, mutually independent things but there is no necessary contradiction or opposition also between the two. Simply because, therefore, he did not establish a Maṭha elsewhere he possibly ascended a S. Pīṭh, it does not mean or follow that he did not or could not do so elsewhere if he so desired e.g. at Kāñcī, even after he ascended the S. Pīṭha there. It has been my feeling all along that all the efforts of the critics, to dany Śaṅkara's ascending a S. Pīṭha as also his passing away - both at Kāñcī are directed towards avoiding the inference about a Maṭha also being established by Śaṅkara at the same place, at least a residential Maṭha if not an Āmnāya Maṭha.

There is, therefore, a possibility of a S. Pīṭha existing in Kāñcī in Śaṅkara's time, whatever that time may be and that he ascended it there only and not in Kāśm., which he may have visited earlier possibly to meet Maṇḍana. The S. Pīṭha at Kāñcī may have become defunct later on and was perhaps not in existence at the time of Rāmā. There is likely to be some truth in the statements of Suṣamā and Mr. T.S. N. Śāstri that the life-account of Abhi. Śaṅkara a later occupant of Kāñcī Kāma. Mutt was mixed up with that of Ādi Śaṅkara and that Abhi.Śaṅkara ascended the S. Pīṭha in Kāśm. while Ādi. Śaṅkara did so at Kāñcī. If only Śaṅkarendra Vilāsa of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa were to become available, these points are likely to be cleared up. Mr. Śarmā has done signal disservice to the world of research and scholarship by not disclosing for obvious reasons what the work said about this mix-up and also by not bringing the work to light and making it available to the

public when he had procured two paper ms. copies of the same. And yet he talks so much about the black deeds (काले कर्तूत) of the Kumba. Mutt (i.e. Kāñci Mutt) people and about his own desire for 'a search for the truth' (सत्यान्वेषण)

## Foot Notes :

(1) Suṣama commenting on G.R.M. St. 33 33, quotes as from Br̥. Ś.V. of Cit. the following stanza.

वाणीं विजित्य च वियद्विशदाम्देहाम्
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरूह्य च तत्र काञ्च्याम् ।
विद्वद्वरार्चितपदो यमिसार्वभौमः
देव्याः पुरः पुरतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये ॥

Mr. T.S. Nārā. Śastri also quotes this stanza as from the same work of Cit. in his book 'Age of Śaṅkara' - p. 226.

Suṣama also quotes the following stanza as from the Br. Ś.V. (of Ānandagiri) while commenting on G.R.M. st. 33

सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य ततस्तदग्रे
मिश्रान्विजित्य सहसोपनतान् प्रयागात् ।
अध्यास्त काञ्चिमभिमण्डितकामकोटिपीठो
मठं निजमवाप्य स शारदाख्यम् ॥

This stanza has been given in the context of a शारदामठ which is said to have been established by Śaṅkara at Kāñcī. तद् in तदग्रे means Saraswati, who is said to have been overcome by Śaṅkara in debate - Read : सरस्वती विजयादिप्रपञ्चनपरपञ्चविंशति पद्यानन्तरम् ...

2. Ś. Ca. of Gov. Ch.IX: Ś.V.V. of Cid. - ch. XXV; Śaṅkara Daya of Rāja D. - ch. III & Br. Ś.V. of Br. Saras. - ch. XXIII.

3. At Māhiṣmati - Ch. VI, and Ch. VII & Kāśm. - ch. IX.

4. Vide his 'Age of Śaṅ' - p. 260. It refers the incident to Śaṅ. Vilasa - Ch. V. stt. 1 to 35.

5. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1994, Vol.s 67 - 68, pp. 1 - 20.

6. Vide his Ś.V.V. - ch. 24 : 32 & 54.

7. In my humble opinion, if at all such an incident ever took place in Śaṅkara's life, it must have been in connection with the S. Piṭha, where it was a test of 'omniscience' or Sarvajñatva and not in the context of Śaṅkara Maṇḍana - discussion.

8. Vide G.V.K. - III : 70 The author in his commentary on his own work says that Śaṅkara & Datta remained conversing with each other there i.e. at Datta's place Māhurtpura (तत्र माहुर्गपुरं This माहुरी has been placed in महाराष्ट्र)

9. Read : 'Truth' - pp/ 144/5, 'JSMV' - p. 482 and 'Myth' - p.64

10. Read 'Truth' - p. 148

11, Read 'JSMV' - p. 482.

12. My edition of Gov.'s Ś. Ca. published Bharatiya Vidyā Vol, Lit. Nos.1 - 4, 1992 pp. 55 to 141.

13. Vide 'JSMV' - p. 482.

14. Vide 'Truth' - p. 152 (top)

15. Vide 'Śri Śaṅkaracārya' by Mr. N. Ramesan

16. Vide Śaṅkara Bhagavatpādācārya's by Sri A. Kuppusamy, pp. 79/80 & 90 / 100.

17. Vide 'Truth' - p. 145.

18. Vide 'Truth' - p. 155. Also read इदमेव अधिकाश्मीरमस्य अखिलवित्पीठारोहणं आदिमाचार्याणामिति प्रेमुः विद्याशङ्करविजयसंक्षेपशङ्करजयकारादय इति दिक् ॥ Suṣama on G.R.M. - st. 64

19. Vide - 'Truth' - p. 153

20. Vide - 'Truth' - p. 154

21. Vide - 'Truth' - p. 153 (end) and 154 (top)

22. Read : (a) 'Search for the girl with the blue eyes' by less Stearn

(b) Search for the Birdey - Mruphy by Morey Bern.

23. For all these remarks of Mr. Śarmā, Vide - 'JSMV' - p. 479 / 480

24. Vide - 'Śaṅkara's Date' by Prof. R.M. Umesh - pp. 115 - 119

25. Vide - 'Ś.V.V.' of Cid. XXV : - 45 - 61.

26. Vide his 'JSMV' - p. 470

27. Ibid - p. 481

28. Ibid - p. 481 (top)

29. Ibid - p. 481

30. Ibid - p. 481 (bottom)

31. Ibid - p. 482

# THE INCIDENT OF PARAKĀYĀYĀPRAVEŚA IN THE LIFE OF ĀDI ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA

By **W.R. ANTARKAR**

Unlike the incident of the Cāṇḍala in the life Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, which has been narrated by only four out of the 16 biographers of Śaṅkara in Sanskrit, one of them viz., - Mādhava just repeating almost verbatim the version of another, viz., Tirumala Dikṣita, the incident of Parakāyāpraveśa has been narrated by almost all the biographers of Śaṅkara. The incident describes how Śaṅkara, in the course of his disputation with Śāradā or Bhāratī or Sarasvati/Vāṇi - the wife of the Maṇḍana or Viśvarupa, either immeidiately after Maṇḍana's defeat in the discussion at the hands os Śaṅkara, was asked by his opponent a question pertaining to the science of erotics or Kāmaśastra and how Śaṅkara, to be able to answer it, laid aside his own physical body and with his subtle body (Liṅga Deha) entered the body of a dead king, acquired the necessary knowledge of Kāmaśāstra in the company of the king's young and beautiful damsels in the harem and then satisfied his questioner and eventually emerged victorious in the discussion.

Mr. T.S. Narayana Sastry says that no trace of this strange story can be found in any of the Śaṅkara-Vijayas. But Mādhava, in his biography of Śaṅkara, in the 9th and 10th Sargas, has written that when Śaṅkara was about to take his seat on the Sarvajñapapīṭha, Goddess Śāradā had put to him this question : कलाः कियन्त्यः वद पुष्पधन्विनः किमात्मिकाः किं च पदं समाश्रिताः । पूर्वे च पक्षे कथमन्यथा स्थितिः कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पुरुषे ॥ (सं.शं. जय -IX:69)

In reply to her, the great Saṁyamīndra traversed all the sexologies, met her in all the arguments and triumphed.[1] Mr. Sastry here quotes another stanza from Mādhava to the effect that Śaṅkara wrote a treatise also on the science of erotics[2] but remarks that "decidedly, he could not be the author of the Amaru-Śataka now extant" and then quotes from the Introduction to Amaru-Śataka by one Nārāyaṇa Rāmācārya, Kāvya-tirtha, who says therein that not even a sugestion about the creation of Amaru-Śataka by Śaṅkara is had in the Śaṅkara-Digvijyaya.[3]

Finally, Mr. Sastry gives his own view in the matter thus: Śaṅkara was a born rationalist he would never have stooped down to perform this osrt of miracle. Some inferior scribe... might have woven this tissue of fancy and pure lie. Hence, this strong romantic tale has to be dismissed as worthless and unfounded.[4]

Neither Mr. Sastry nor the Ācārya appears to be correct. Firstly, almost all - 16 out of 17 - Śaṅkara-Vijayas, available so far, contain the incident of Śaṅkara's Parakāyapraveśa, the difference being in the stage at which it took place, viz. immediately after the defeat of Maṇḍana by Śaṅkara or at the time of Śaṅkara's Sarvajña-Pīṭhārohaṇa. The work of Bāla - Gopāla Yati is incomplete while Rājacūḍamaṇi Dikṣita gives it at neither of the two stages but in the course of Śaṅkara's pilgrimage when he is on his way to Mūkāmbikā.

Secondly, Mādhava gives the story in question in connection with Śaṅkara - Maṇḍana discussion and not at the time of his ascending the Sarvajña-piṭha, as said by Mr. Sastry.

Thirdly, the story of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajñapīṭha has been described by Mādhava in Ch. XVI and not in Chapters IX and X which, however, describe the incident of Parakāyāpraveśa.

Regarding the Amaru-Śatakam, it may be true that the same, as available today, does not contain any indication of Śaṅkara's authorship of the same but it may be noted that as many as eight or nine Śaṅkara-Vijayas[5] state clearly that he did write some work on the science of erotics in about 100 stanzas, more about this point will be said at the end of this article.

In addition to the Śaṅkara-Vijayas proper, a number of biographies have been written in the Marathi and English languages. I have with me 14 such works - 10 in Marathi and 4 in English. Out of these, two are by the same person, Mr. S.D. Kulkarni, Thane, Bombay, one in each language. Out of these 14 works, five biographics (two in English and three in Marathi) omit this incident altogether while two (one in each language) narrate enthusiasm of later admirers and hence deserves to be rejected. Neither of the two, however, eisputes the theoretical possibility of such a performance of soul transference nor Śaṅkara's ability to perform the yogic deed.

Those of the recent writers above, who have given the episode, however, give an imaginary account more or less, of the same, if the Śaṅkara-Vijayas are accepted (and the writers seem to do so) as the only source of information about Śaṅkara's life account. The language which Bhāratī is shown in a couple of these biographies to employ while talking to Śaṅkara is objectionably offensive while we are simply left to guess the sources of the other parts of the account in many others. None of these writers, however, seems to doubt the connection of this episode with the Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion and hence the necessity to discuss it.

Out of 17 Śaṅkara-Vijayas about 11 describe it in connection with Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion[6] while only three narrate it at the time Śaṅkara's ascending the Śarvajña-piṭha.[7] Rājacūḍāmani Dikṣita (in his Śaṅkarābhyudaya) describes it in the course of Śaṅkara's pilgrimage

and unrelated to either of the two stages while Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin (Bhagavat- Pādābhyudayam) has confused the timing of the same. Bāla Gopāla Yati's work is incomplete and his version is not available. The version of the first group (1 1 Śaṅkara-Vijayas) is as follows :

Tirumala Dikṣita, Parameśvara Kavikaṇṭhīrava and Nīlakaṇṭha tell us that when Maṇḍana, after his defeat by Śaṅkara, was about to be initiated into Sannyāsa, his wife came forward to challenge Śaṅkara to a discussion with herself as the other half of Maṇḍana, saying that Śaṅkara had defeated only half of Maṇḍana and that without defeating her, his victory was incomplete and then the discussion between her and Śaṅkara started.

According to Mādhava, Sadānanda, Brahmānanda Sarasvati, Anantānandagiri and Vallīsahāya, immediately after Maṇḍana's defeat by Śaṅkara, his wife Bhāratī started for the heavenly abode but Śaṅkara bound her by the Vanadurgā-Mantra and did not allow her to go away. Mādhava and Sadānanda make her narrate to Śaṅkara a story from her childhood.

Oneday, as she was being fondled by her mother, some ascetic came to their house. Her mother, who had by that time, noticed some unusual marks about her daughter, asked thw ascetic abut her future life. He then told the mother that she was going to be the wife of the great Maṇḍana. She was under a curse from which she was to be free when Maṇḍana would be defeated in argument by Śaṅkara with whom she also would then enter into a discussion.[8]

Bhāratī now says that she wanted to discuss with Śaṅkara as the other half of Maṇḍana. Śaṅkara objected to it on the ground that it was not proper for Yatis to argue with ladies but Bhāratī cited the earlier instances of Gārgi and Sulabhā who had argued with Yājñavalkya and Janka respectively. Śaṅkara had to agree and then, the discussion started.

Cidvilāsa gives a slightly different version. According to him, when, after Maṇḍana's defeat by , his wife Vāṇi was ready to go back to heaven, Śaṅkara bound her by Vanadurgā-Vidyā, made her turn back and asked her how she desired to go away without overcoming him in argument, even though he knew that she was the supreme Goddess of speech (जाने त्वां गिरां देवीं परामहम्॥ XIX: 3 -Śaṅkara-Vijaya-Vilāsa). Surprised and angry with his speech, she asked him if he was puffed up that he desired to discuss with her and also how, standing in the air as she was then, she could do so. Then, saying that as she was free from the curse of Durvāsas on seeing him i.e. Śaṅkara, she should be allowed to go again on all sides by Vana-Durgā-Mantra, and then placing her about 10 feet high (in mud-air), he started the discussion, which went on for 8 days.

Anantānandagiri also has a similar version. According to him also, when, after Maṇḍana's defeat, he was made a Sannyāsin by Śaṅkara, a moment before that (Ch. 57-beginning) Sarasavāṇi, his wife, who was going back to Brahmaloka thorugh the kitchen-window, was stopped by Śaṅkara by blocking her action by Vana-Durgā-Mantra and he said to her that as the companion (upādhi) of Maṇḍana, it would be proper for her to go back only after having a

discussion with him. She then told him that for fear of widowhood, she had left the earth and that it was not possible for her to hold any discuss with him who was on the earth, which she did not desire to touch again. Then, Śaṅkara asked her to hold discussion with him even by remaining a few feet suspended in air and then only to go back. And then the discussion started and went on for some time. (Ś.V.Ch.5 7)

Hereafter, the story, more or less uniform, goes on except for some slight differences. The discussion went on for some days and Bhāratī/Vāṇi found Śaṅkara an adeopt in every Śāstra. Then it occured to her that as Śaṅkara had become a Sannyāsin even in his boyhood, he was not likely to be acquainted with the science of Love (Kāmaśāstra) and then, seeing her chance to score over him in that field, she put to him a question कला: कियन्त्य: etc. Śaṅkara was naturally puzzled. If he answered, he would compromise his asceitc's vow while if he did not, he would have to accept defeat. He, therefore, asked for some time, which was readily granted. The period of time has been given variously. Anantānandagiri and Vallīsahāya say it was six months, Prameśvara Kavikaṇṭhirava says quite a few months (क्रतिपयमासानवधीन् Ch.III prose before st. 1 2 8). Vyāsācala and Govindanātha refer to 7 days only, G.V.K. says 'Some days only', while Rājacūḍamṇi Dikṣita finishes the whole affair in one day only. The rest of the biographers - about 7 or 8 give one month as the period of time.

Now, according to all the biographers (or Śaṅkara-Vijayas), except Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha, Śaṅkara set out with a few of his disciples like Padmapāda and Hastāmalaka, and came to a jungle on the outskirts of a city called Amṛtapura. He saw there a large gathering of men for the funeral of the king of the place, who had just died and whose body was placed on a sandal wood pyre, which was about to be lit. The gathering there consisted of the king's office-bearers like ministers and a large group of beautiful ladies of his harem, all bathed in tears. Śaṅkara saw this chance and told his disciples that he intended to enter the dead body of the king during the stipulted period.

According to Rājacūḍamaṇi Dikṣita, Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha, when Śaṅkara said this, Padmapāda treid to argue with him and expressed a doubt about the propriety and even necessity of the action. He even cited the example of Yogi Matsyendranātha who, in the company of young ladies, had forgotten himself and had to be awakened from his delusion by his disciple Gorakṣanātha. Śaṅkara, however, allayed his fears by saying that a God-realised person like himself was above all attachment and delusion and that no blame would attach to him and then the decision was taken.

Resorting to his yogic powers, Śaṅkara left his body in a cave of a nearby mountain, asking his disciples to guard it till he returned to it and with his subtle body, entered the dead body of the king, which thereupon became alive and started moving his hands and feet. Overjoyed to see the king come back to life again and without stopping to ponder over the revival, the people took

him in a procession to the kingdom and installed him on the throne again. The king immediately made a adiministrative arrangements and himself repaired to the harem, where the ladies welcomed him with open arms and very soon, submerged him in an ocean of all kinds of sexual pleasures and the king also enjoyed them thoroughly. In a short time, however, both the harem-ladies, particularly the chief queen, whose name has been given as Kanakamañjari by Cidvilāsa, Brahmānanda Sarasvati and Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin and also the ministers of the king started suspecting that though the body of the king was the same as before, the soul animating the same was different, most possibly of some Yogin. According to Mādhava and Sadānanda, it was the ministers who got the suspicion while according to the others, the chief queen got the suspicion and conveyed it to the ministers for doing the needful. Some actually make her give specific instructions in the matter to the ministers, who then sent round servants to find out and burn all the dead bodies wherever found in the kingdom, so as to prevent the new soul in the king's body from re-entering the previous one, thereby retaining it permanently for the benefit of the kingdom and its people.

All the writers tell us that in the king's body, Śaṅkara mastered the science of erotics (Kāmaśāstra). He is also said to have written a new book on the subject, the name of book has been given as Mṛga by Villisahāya, Amarūka by G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha, some kind of a commentary (Bhāṣya) on the Sūtra of Vātsyāyana by Govinda and Sadānanda, Mṛga or Maruka in 100 stanzas by Anantānandagiri[9] and as a composition (Nibandha) by Mādhava, Vyāsacala and Rājacūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita. Writers like Mādhava, Sadānanda, Cidvilāsa tell us that Śaṅkara, having lost himself in the round of harem - pleasures forgot his mission. When, therefore, he did not return within the time as promised by him to his disciples, who were deputed by him to guard his old body, they set out in search of him and as they went from place to place, they heard at one place about a rejuvenated king and about some wonderful changes that were marked by the people in his kingdom after the rejuvenation and also about the king's recent activities in the company of the ladies of the harem. They immediately repaired to the place and disguised as singers, went to the king's Durbar and on being admitted inside, they sang a song whcih suggestively reminded Śaṅkara of his real identity and his mission. Śaṅkara immediately realised the import of the song, feigned that he had fainted (or felt sleepy - Bhagavat - pādābhyudayam - VII - 54) and flew back to his own body. By then, the ministers' servants had traced Śaṅkara's original body deposited by him in the cave and had set it on fire. Seeing his body in flames, Śaṅkara praised Lord Nṛsiṁha, who appeared before him in bodily form, extinguished the fire, rendered Śaṅkara's body whole and then disappeared. This is the version of Anantānandagiri, Mādhava, Sadānanda, Vallisahāya and Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin (Bhag-Daya). According to Vyāsācala, Govinda, Tirumala Dīkṣita and Prameśvara Kavikaṇṭhirava, however, after enjoying the ladies in the harem and mastering the Kāmaśāstra, Śaṅkara entered his onw body, on his own. Rājacūdamaṇi Dikṣita finishes the whole episode from Śaṅkara entering the king's body upto

coming back to his own within the space of a day or two (Śaṅkarābhyudaya IV-48, 49). G.V.K. tells us that Śaṅkara, even while he was in the company of the harem - ladies, himself divined the suspicion of the queen about himself (III: 29) and then giving up the king's body, entered his own and then praised Lord Nṛsiṁha. (The purpose of Śaṅkara's praising Lord Nṛsimha is not clear)

After his return to his own body, Śaṅkara naturally went to Maṇḍana's house and satisfied Bhāratī by answering her questions about Kāmaśāstra. According to some, satisfying her by answering her in so many words was no longer necessary - She took it for granted and this is more natural while a few say that he showed her his new work on Erotics and that satisfied her. Naturally, she acknowledged her own defeat and Śaṅkara's supremacy also. Maṇḍana was then initiated into Sannyāsa and was named Sureśvara.

Thereafter, according to some, Bhāratī, at the instance of Śaṅkara, promised to show grace to his followers and disappeared, while according to others, she followed him to Śṛṅgeri, where Śaṅkara established her image, a Śrīchakara and started the famous Sāradā mutt and also worship of Śāradā. He also named his own Sampradāya Bhāratī after her name.

According to Anantānandagiri throghout the period of the above episode, Bhāratī was standing in mid-air only. When Śaṅkara came back and offered to answer all her questions about the science of Love, she simply declared him omniscient (Sarvajña) by word of mouth. (Ch. 61). Then, Śaṅkara bound her by a Mantra (charm) and through the aerial path only, he created a cakra near Śṛṅgagiri on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, established Sarasvatī there (that is how Anantānandagiri refers to her throughout) as the supreme Goddess and then, asking her to remain stationary there permanently, established his own mutt there and after creating a Vidyāpiṭha there, created the Bhāratī Sampradāya among his own disciples.[10]

A bit of an additional story is here narrated by Brahmānanda Sarasvati. He tells that to atone for his sin of Parakāyā-Praveśa, Śaṅkara went to Kāśī, bathed in the river Ganges and worshipped Lord Śiva, who appeared before him and said that no blame attached to him. He, then, gave him 5 Liṅgas, Candramouli etc. and asked him to place them for worship at Śṛṅgagiri, Kāñcī, Purī, Dvārakā and Badarī. He also promised to give 5 more Liṅgas on the mountain Kailāsa. Then he instructed him to deposit these Liṅgas with his five disciples. After this, Śaṅkara came to Bhāratī and answered her queries and then she agreed to go with him to Śṛṅgerī.[11]

Rājacūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita gives a very different version of this episode. As said earlier, he gives it in the course of Śaṅkara's pilgrimage, when he was on his way to Mūkāmbikā Kṣetra and neither in connection with Śaṅkara - Maṇḍaṇa discussion nor at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-piṭha. According to Rājacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣita, after Śaṅkara revived the child of a

brahmin couple near the Mūkāmbikā temple, he went to a place where he saw the dead body of kind Maruka, which was brought there for cremation and which was surrounded by more than a hundred ladies of surpassing beauty. He then said to Sanandana that he felt like entering the king's body for (i) placing on the throne the king's own son and (ii) establishing his own omniscience. Then Sanandana tried to dissuade him from doing so by citing the instance of Matsyendranāthā Yogin. Śaṅkara, however, promised to come back the very next day or the day after. With that promise, he entered the king's body and having enjoyed the pleasures of the harem, wrote a work of 100 stanzas on the Kāmaśastra and did actually return the very next day. Thereafter, Śaṅkara came back to the Mūkāmkikā Sadana.

About this version, one feels like remarking that the whole episode here appears to be conceived and is most unnatural in the circumstances. Śaṅkara's action - even his desire to enter the dead body of the king - is altogether unmotivated, the two motives given by the poet being out of any context and hence unconvincing. Why should Śaṅkara bother about placing the (dead) king's son on the throne of his father and secondly, why should he think about establishign his omniscience, when it was not at all at stake?

Vyāsācala, Govindanātha and G.V.K, only narrate the story at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-pīṭha and they also tell us that Śaṅkara remained in the body of the king for seven days only, at the end of which period he came back to his own body, without having to be roused to do so by his disciples. The rest of the story is the same, more or less, as given already in connection with the Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion.

Lakṣmaṇa Sūrin, in his Bhag - Dayam seems to have mixed up - almost confused - the incidents of Maṇḍana's conquest by Śaṅkara and Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-pīṭha. Thus, we are told that after defeating Maṇḍana at Māhiṣmatī, Śaṅkara is said to have engaged in a discussion with his wife (variously called by the author Ubhaya-Bhāratī Sarasavāṇi and Sārada), who was desirous of leaving for Brahmaloka and who was requested and even prevailed upon by Śaṅkara to argue with him. During the discussion, the wife put to him questions pertaining to Kāmaśastra, for answering which Śaṅkara asked for a period of one month. Then, after instructing Viśvarūpa i.e. Maṇḍana and making him Sureśvara, Śaṅkara desired to ascend the Sarvajña-Pīṭha. (All this account has been given in Chapter VI). The next chapter recounts the story of Parakāyāpraveśa proper, Śaṅkara's arousal by his disciples, then his coming back to his own body, satisfying Śāradā (who is, all the time, standing suspended in air) who says that she had tested him only to show to the world his knowledge in all helds. (VII. 63). Thereafter, she is said to go back to her heavenly abode. On this background, Chapter VII has been named as सर्वज्ञपीठारोहणवर्णनम्. The actual सर्वज्ञपीठारोहण has, however, been described in the middle of Ch.IX and the same is separated from Ch. VII and the incidents described therein by Ch.VIII and 37 stanzas of Ch.IX, this interval being taken up by a description of Śaṅkara's Dig-vijaya-yātrā as also his

pilgrimage throughout India, which includes the establishment by him of 5 mutts - all for propagation or advancement of Vidyā विद्याभिवृद्ध्ये IX: 1 0 1) vix at Śṛṅgeri (VIII: 3 6, 3 7), Kāñci. (VIII: 7 9), Jagannātha Puri (IX: 2 1), Dvārakā (IX: 2 4, 2 5), and Badarī (IX: 3 2). The Sarvajña-Pīṭha was in Kāśmīra and after Śaṅkara defeated in discussion persons like the Sāṅkhyas, Paṁtañjalas, Mīmāṁsakas, Naiyāyikas and Kāṇādas and the Saugatas, he was led inside the Śāradā Mandira by the gate keepers and placed on the Sarvajña - Pīṭha by the presiding officers (Adhyakṣas) (IX: 4 7). Then, Śāradā in bodily form is said to have addressed Śaṅkara and said to him that he was a Sarvajña and was tested already.

One last opinion, which deserves to be noted here is that according to 5 biographiers, when, after overcoming all the disputants and establishing his omniscience, Śaṅkara attempted to ascend the Sarvajña-Pīṭha, an aerial voice or Maṇḍana's wife Bhāratī stopped him saying that mere omniscience did not entitle one to occupy the Pīṭha but that absolute purity of the person's character was also essential.[12] When, however, inspite of his being a Yati, i.e. a Sannyāsin, he had enjoyed the ladies in the king's harem and thus acquired proficiency in the science of Love, how could he be said to be deserving of ascending the Sarvajña-Pīṭha? Then, Śaṅkara replied that the ladies were enjoyed by the body of the king while his own body was spotlessly clean and untouched by woman. This explanation was accepted and then only, he was able to ascend the Sarvajña-Pīṭha. Brahmānanda Sarasvatī's version in this particular regard has been noted already.

Firstly, this particular incident is an off-shoot of Śaṅkara's Parakāyāpraveśa, whatever its timing but the off-shoot is a part of the actual ascension by Śaṅkara of the Sarvajña-Pīṭha and has been brought over from the Parakāyāpraveśa. When this latter takes place earlier i.e. after Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion.

Secondly, the two incidents, viz., the objection raised initially by Śaṅkara's disciples to his entering the body of the dead king and subsequently by someone at the time of his ascending the Sarvajña-Pīṭha seem to show some kind of objection actually or likely to be taken by some persons at least to Śaṅkara's part in such a feat and have tried to voice and also answer if as far and as best as they could and absolve him from any blame likely to be attributed to him in regard to the same.

The story involved two issues or problems. viz. (1) the fundamental possibility of such a feat and 9 2) the stage at which it took place. The second depends upon or presumes the first and hence, it will be better to discuss them in the same order.

Mr. C.N. Krishnaswamy Aiyer says that "the whole story of the transference of Śaṅkara's soul into Amaruka's body has to be rejected as being undermonstrable" and hence "the whole of this episode is due to the misguided enthusiam of later followers."[13]

Firstly, if unanimity of tradition has any value and is any pointer in such cases, almost all

the Śaṅkara-Vijayas (except one which is incomplete and does not give it) describe this episode, in more or less details and with some variation somewhere and either after Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion or at the time of Sarvajña-Pīṭharohaṇa. According to Suṣamā, even Citsukha and Ānandagiri describe it though we do not have their full versions today, as their works have not come to light so far.

Secondly, Yoga-Sūtras of Patañjali clearly speak of a Yogi's powers of leaving one body and inhabiting another. Rājacūḍamaṇi Dikṣita refers to Vajroli-yoga, which can be used for such a purpose (IV:48). Abnormal Psychology today describes what is known as double and even multiple personality, a phenomenon now accepted, more or less, even by modern science.[13A] If a Yogī, who is not necessarily a God-realised person, can transfer his subtle body from one body to another, there seems to be no reason why a person like Śaṅkara should not be able to do so and then this obviously need not be demonstrable in the way we may want it to be. Acceptance or rejection of such a possibility will depend upon how far a person can be said to develop yogic powers. From what has been said so far, it does not seem unreasonable to believe that yogic powers can be developed to hte extent necessary for the purposes of the story and hence also to conclude that such a thing is not altogether impossible. ?Citsukha tells us that Śaṅkara wrote an extensive bhāṣya on Yoga-sāstra by his Guru Govinda Muni and it was an independent work, more than a commentary on Yoga-śāstra. It is, therefore, possible to presume that even at the early age of about 18 years, Śaṅkara, even like Saint Jñāneśvara, must have been a great Yogī and hence, there does not seem to be anything improbably in his perfomring the feat under discussion.

Prof. S.S. Suryanarayanan Sastry raised two objections to the basic acceptance of this story as a historical fact. He says :

(i) Quite apart from the miraculous element in the story, it offends us by the introduction of an unnecessary debate with the unforeseen consequence of Śaṅkara's having to undergo an experience, which he was deliberately renounced, this offends the moral susceptibilities of many.

(ii) There is also a logical difficulty. At the time he met Bhāratī, was Śaṅkara merely a clever disputant or a realised soul? If the former, when did he ever attain realisation? We are not made aware of any period or incident, which marks his realisation. If, on the other hand, he was laready a realised soul, should he not have had at his command the omniscience of Īśvara, the immediate knowledge of everything as it is? Where then was the necessity to depart this body and tenant another?

(iii) If the incidnet was calculated to edify the common people, was Bhāratī, the incarnation of (Goddess) Sarasvatī (as she has been depicted to be) also to be included among

them? Even if it may have edified some people, what of the rest, who are offended at the incapacity or else the lapse of the idol?[14]

Regarding the first objection it can be conceded that the story does appear unnecessary in the context of Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion. It will, however, be shown just a little later that the story has been misplaced but it is not unfounded altogether and that in the other context, it is not unnecessary. And when a thing is required by circumstances and has taken place in answer to the need, there is no help if due to its unnatural or out of the way nature it offends the susceptibilities of certain persons. Considerations of morality are often too delicately fine to be understood in their proper perspective by the average persons. They pertain to the body and the mind and never to the indwelling soul. The body that had renounced the enjoyments was different from the one-that of the king that experienced thn and the mind of a Jñanī person like Śaṅkara is ever free from attachment of any kind and hence is evern untained.

Regarding Śaṅkara's being a realised soul, the Śaṅkara-Vijayas have throughout represented him as God Himself and hence pershaps they did not think it necessary to say when he became a (God-) realised soul. Moreover, as said earlier, God - or self-realisation is not absolutely necessary for performing the feat of transferring the subtle-body to another body. A Yogī, fairly well developed in the science of yoga can do it, if the Yoga-sūtras are to be believed.

Regarding the necessity for a realised soul to perform the feat inspite of his omniscience, we have to note that this is too literal an application of the principle of the omniscience of such a person. EVen if a realised soul is theoretically omniscient, such persons are generally found not to exhibit acquaintance with any branch of knowledge for which they have not undergone at least a formal training, according to worldly standards, during that particular embodied existence of theirs. In fact, this is the purpose behind showing even characters like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa having their own preceptors (Gurus) like Vasiṣṭha and Sāndīpani under whom they acquired the necessary training. Such persons, the realised ones-exceed normal standards of behaviour and exhibit superhuman powers or knowledge only as much as is absolutely necessary for fulfilment of their life's mission and not more and particularly in the field of knowledge, they exhibit it in substance rather than in form. Śaṅkara had adopted the role of a life-long Sanbnyāsin and as such, could not have experienced the science of Erotics in the normal way but as its knowledge was necesssary for his mission in hand, he used his yogic powers for tenanting another body after setting aide his own for some time. The question of edifying the people or Bhāratī does not at all arise.

Lastly, in the case of exceptional figures like Śaṅkara, the average or the common man is not at all the standard for even understanding, much less evaluating - their actions or the motivation behind them, which may exceed their limited intelligence very greatly. Nor is it

possible for any person to satisfy all the people ven of his own time-much less of all time - and many have of course to take certain things on trust from the actual witnesses of some usual incident or incidents in the life of such great figures, who exceed by far the common humanity.

With the possibility of Śaṅkara's setting adide his own body and tenanting another for some time thus at least hypothetically established, we can turn to the other problem, viz. the stage at which the incident is likely to hve taken place.

As seen already, Rājacūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita's version of this episode is unrelated to either of the two stages and as such, need not be considered. We are then left with three biographies only. viz. Vyāsācala, Govindanātha and the author of G.V.K. who say that the incident in question took place at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-Pīṭha. On the other side, we have as many as nine biographers who connect it with Śaṅkara - Maṇḍana discussion. I prefer to agree with the minority for the following reasons :

(1) Citsukha, the direct disciple and constant companion of Śaṅkara for 25 years tells us, as per Suṣamā that Śaṅkara overcome the bodiless Vāṇi and ascended the Sarvajña-Pīṭha at Kāñci only.[15]

(2) Ānandagiri also says that Sarasvati was overcome by Śaṅkara in a debate after he had defeated the Miśras also in a debate and then ascended the Sarvajña-Pīṭha in front of her and then quotes a stanza in the context of a Maṭha called Śāradā, which was established at Kāñci.[16]

Further, while commenting on st. 29 of Guru-Ratna-Mālikā, Suṣamā refers clearly to the two views in the matter and prefers the one that Śaṅkara defeated Sarasvatī at the time of ascending the Sarvajña-Pīṭha because it says that it was favoured by Śiva-Rahasya, Bṛ.Ś.V., Pr. Ś.V., K.Ś.V., Vyāsācalīya etc.[17] This shows that according to Suṣamā, both Citsukha and Ānandagiri (in their works Br. Ś.V. & Pr. Ś.V.) respectively held the same view. It has been noted alrady that both these works are not available to us today and hence cannot be considered to be very strong evidence. K.Ś.V. is the same as Śaṅkarācārya-Caritra of Govindanātha. It has been said already that both this work and that of Vyāsācala hold the same view.

(3) Whichever the venue of the incident, all the biographers (i.e. Śaṅkara-Vijayas) narrate the same, and agree without exception that in the discussion between Śaṅkara and Bhāratī/ Sarasvati/Vāṇi, it was in the context of Śaṅkara's omniscience (Sarvajñatva) that the incident of Parakāyā-praveśa took place. When, during their discussion, Śaṅkara was found fully at home in all the Śāstras, Bhāratī, in order to disprove his claim to omniscience, put to him the qustion pertaining to the science of Love with which, she must have shrewdly suspected, he was not directly acquainted. This very consensus, however, ill-agrees with the view that the incident took place at the time Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion. The main point of this discussion was the true interpretation of the Vedas on such questions as the identity of the individual and supreme

souls, relation between Jñāna and Karma, the real ultimate end of human Life - heaven or spiritual end and son on. It was not a tussle for omniscience on either side. If, therefore, Bhāratī, as the other half of Maṇḍana, desired to continue the debate on his behjalf, she was expected to try to defend him against Śaṅkara on these points and to succeed against Śaṅkara where Maṇḍana had failed. Instead of trying to hold any kind of a discussion on these or such points, with Śaṅkara, however, she goes on examining him in one Śāstra after another and thus in the various branches of knowledge and thereby tries to disestablish him from a position which he had not started with nor claimed anywhere in the course of the discussion. All this is quite inconsistent with the whole context. On the contrary, it fits in with the other context very well, where the sole point at issue was Sarvajñatva of Śaṅkara and when he was found invincible in all other branches of knowledge, some shrewd person - it may have been a lady also like Bhāratī (the story of an aerial voice questioning Śaṅkara may not appeal to the modern critical mind), may have thought of testing him in the sceince of Erotics. If he answered it there and then, it would compromise his status of a bachelor Sannyāsin (Brahmacāri Sannyāsī) and if he did not, his claim to omniscience and then to ascend the Sarvajña-pīṭha would stand disproved. And then, Śaṅkara resorted to the feat os Parakāyā-praveśa to resolve the dilemma.

4. The version of the other biographers who hold the other view is both improbable ad mutually inconsistent. Firstly, they have to make Śaṅkara bind by some charm (generally called Vanadurgā-Mantra) the wife of Maṇḍana, who after his defeat, was departing for her heavenly abode and challenge her to a discussion. According to Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa, Brahmānanda Sarasvati and Vallisahāya, throughout the discussion between Śaṅkara and Bhārati, the latter was standing in the ari in the outer countryard of Maṇḍana's house. This latter part is highly improbable while Śaṅkara's action is both improbable and altogether inconsistent with Śaṅkara's character as well as with the context. He had come to argue with Maṇḍana as the great expounder of the Pūrva Mimāṁsā doctrines at the instance of Kumārila, the other great Mimāṁsaka of his time and not with Maṇḍana's wife, who had no particular locus standi in the field and as such, he would not even have thought of detaining her for a discussion and that too, against her will. Mādhava, who perhaps sensed this difficulty, invents a story from her childhood. Then, at that point, it is Bhārati, Maṇḍana's wife, who challenges Śaṅkara to a discussion as the other half of Maṇḍana. Then, curiously and surprisingly enough the same biographer, Mādhava, who had said that Śaṅkara had detained and challenged her to a discussion, now says that Śaṅkara objected to the same between a woman and a Yati but that Bhārati answered the objection by pointing out the instances of Gārgi and Sulabhā who had discussions with Yājñavalkya and Janaka. The instances also are inapt because both Yajñavalkya and Janaka were householders while Śaṅkara had objected to a discussion between a Yati that he himself was and a woman - Bhārati.

Moreover, all this story of Śaṅkara-Bhāratī dialogue is cut ooff from that of Śaṅkara binding

here by a charm and his first challenge to her by the incident of Maṇḍana's regret not that he was defeated but that Jaimini was proved wrong, then Śaṅkara's explaining to him at his own request, the true evident that the story of the ascetic and Bhāratī in the latter's childhood must have been added later and is found in Mādhava and Sadānanda only. The other biographers do not mention this story nor Śaṅkara's objection but it is interesting to note that according to Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa and Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, the discussion between Śaṅkara and Bhārati took place after Mandana's initiation into Sannyāsa by Śaṅkara.

All this seems to be just a bundle of contradictions. The major inconsistency of the subject matter with the context of Śankara Maṇḍana debate has been discussed already.

It, therefore, seems reasonable to conclude that the incident in question must have taken place, if all it did, at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-Pīṭha, though this represents the version of a very small minority as far as the Śaṅkara-Vijayas are concerned and not all all in the context of Śankara - Maṇḍana discussion though this version has been favoured by a large majority of Śaṅkara-Vijayas. The three Śaṅkara - Vijayas of Vyāsācala, Govinda and Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, which constitute the minority, are comparatively older than those comprising the majority. Bṛ. Ś.V. and Pr. S.V. of Cisukha and Ānandagiri, presumable the oldest of the Śaṅkara-Vijayas agree with the view of the minority, though their value as supporting evidence is somewhat less as they are not available to us for confirmation.

With regard to the story itself also, it appears that is is not wholly true as it has been narrated by the biographers, particularly those who connect it with the Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion.

Thus, out of 14 biographies (i.e. Śankara-Vijayas) which give the story, only three biographers, viz. Mādhava, Śadānanda and Nilakaṇṭha (all very late writers), refer to Sanandana's or Padmapāda's discussion with Śaṅkara about the advisability of his decision to tenant the body of the dead king. The other biographers do not even suggest such a discussion though many, but not all, of them agree in describing how Śaṅkara was lost in the round of harem-pleasures in the body of the king, finally resulting in his finding his old body in flames when he returned to it after he gave up the king's body. Such a despiction is inconsistne not only with his image of a God-realised person and even of being Lord Śiva incarnate as portrayed by these biographers but also with what he had said by way of assurance to his disciples about the impossibility of his being likely initially objected to his contemplated action of entering the king's body. All this story of Yogī Matsyendranātha and his disciple Yogī Gorakṣanātha, which these bigraphers have then used for Śaṅkara's biography. It is quite possible that when Śaṅkara started functioning in the body of the king, difference in the behaviours of the 'old' and the 'new' king was noticed quite early by the ladies in the harem as well as the king's ministers and then suspecting that they were dealing not really with the old king proper but with some new and

spiritually very advanced soul that was animating the old body. They may thought of trying to retain this new king permanently in the manner described by the biographers. Śaṅkara, however, being aware all the time of such a risk to his own body and also to his mission behind his taking on the new body, must have foiled the attempt in the nick of time by giving up the new body and returning to his old one. The story of his body being in flames extinguished by Lord Nṛsiṁha invoked by Śaṅkara and so on is very likely to have been added later. The supernatural element brought in by the same seems to be unnatural as well as unnecessary and points to the same conclusion.

When Śaṅkara came back, possiblly no particular need was felt by the questioner to question him on the subject sepcifically or to pursue the point any further, because Śaṅkara was a Yati and particularlyl if the questioner was a lady and the subject was Kāmaśāstra, it was too delicate for an open and free discussion.

Regarding Śaṅkara's writing a small work on Kāmaśāstra during his sally into the king's body, ten out of 14 biographers, who have given the story of Parakāyāpraveśa etc., tell us that he composed such a poem during that stay. The king's name has been given as Amaraka (Tirumala Dikṣita), Maruka (Rājacūdāmaṇi Dikṣita) and accordinglyl, the name of the poem also has been given as अमरूकाख्य-ग्रन्थ (G.V.K. Nilakaṇtha and Anantānandagiri), Mṛga - मृग (Vallisahāya) and as वात्स्यायनव्याख्यान (Govindanātha), शृङ्गारपरिप्लुतपद्य (Rājacūdāmaṇi Dikṣita) and अभिन्वार्थगर्थम् एकं निबन्धम् (Mādhava). 18 Some biographers tell us that on returning to Maṇḍana's house. Śaṅkara just showed that poem to the questioner, who was satisfied with Śaṅkara's omniscience. Then we have the story of Śaṅkara finding his body in flames on his return to it and Lord Nṛsiṁha appearing there and so on. In the course of all this happening, how the poem if at all written by Śaṅkara was brought from the palace, to be shown to the questioner and finally was preserved for posterity in something that cannot be satisfactorily explaied. Modern students of what now passess as Amaruśatakam, purporting to be the said composition of Śaṅkara, are highly sceptical about Śanṅkara's authorship of the same, and except that so many biographers refer to such a writing, there is no other clue to verify the same today.

Lastly, regarding the period of Śaṅkara's stay in the body of the king, it could not reasonably have exceeded one to two weeks (one week, according to Vyāsācala and Govindanātha) or at the most one month, as said by some others. The whole story, therefore, of Sanandana's expostulation with Śanṅkara, the pupils going to the court to rouse Śaṅkara from his entanglement with the harem ladies and finallly the philisophical song (with the burthen तत्त्वमसि तत्त्वमसि...राजन at the end of every stanza or the like) sung by them must have been an addition of later times, modelled in imitation of a similar one said to have been sung by Gorakhanātha (चलो मच्छींदर, गोरख आया है ।।)

## FOOT NOTES

1. Vide : 'Age of Śaṅkara' by T.S. Nārāyana Śastry - p. 174, F.N. 139; 1971 AD.
2. Read : वात्स्यायनोदितसूत्रजातं तदीयभाष्यं च विलोक्य सम्यक् ।
   स्वयं व्यधत्ताभिनवार्थगर्भं निबन्धमेकं नृपवेशधारी ॥ Sanṣepa-Śaṅkara-Jaya by Mādhavācarya - X : 18.
3. Read : न तु अमरुशतकनिर्माणसू चनमात्रमपि शङ्करदिग्विजये समुपलभ्यतं । (नाऽपि अमरुशतके शारदाप्रश्नोत्तरानुरूपं किमप्यस्ति, तस्मादेवंविधा निर्मूला जनश्रुतयः कथं स्वीकर्तुमर्हाः ॥) Quoted in Age of Śaṅkara - p. 174, F.N. 139
4. Vide : 'Age of Śaṅkara - p. 174, F.N. 139, last sentences.
5. The Śaṅkara-Vijaya are :
   - (i) Śaṅkara-Vijaya by Anantānandagiri (Ch.58);
   - (ii) Śaṅkara-Vijaya by Vyāsācala (XII : 71);
   - (iii) Śaṅkarācārya-Caritam by Govindanātha (IX : 12);
   - (iv) Śaṅkṣepa - Śaṅkara-Jaya by Mādhava (X : 18);
   - (v) Guru-Vamśa-Kāvya by Kāśi Lakṣmana Śastri (III : 28);
   - (vi) Śaṅkara-Digvijaya - Sāra by Sadānanda (VIII : 10);
   - (vii) Śaṅkarābhudaya by Nilakaṇṭha (IV : 90);
   - (viii) Ācārya-Digvijaya by Vallisahāya - VI : 76 - 77.
   - (ix) Śaṅkarābhyudaya by Rājacūdāmani Dikṣita IV : 49;
6. The 11 Śaṅkara-Vijaya are : (i) Śaṅkara-Vijaya by Ananta; (ii) Śaṅkara-Vijaya-Vilāsa by Cidvilasa, (iii) Śaṅkarābhyudaya by Tirumala Dikṣita, (iv) Kūṣmāṇḍa-Śaṅkara-Vijaya (Puruṣottama Bhārati), (v) Br. Ś.V. by Brahmānanda Sarasvati, (vi) Ś.S. Jaya by Mādhava. (vii) Śaṅkara-Digvijaya SaYCra by Sadānanda. (viii) Ācārya-Vijayākhyāna by Paramdevi, (ix) Ācārya-Digvijaya by Vallisahaya and (x & xi) Śaṅkarābhyudaya and Śaṅkara-Mandāra-Saurabha by Nilakaṇtha.
7. The three Śaṅkara - Vijaya are (1) Śaṅkara-Vijaya by Vyāsācala, (2) Śaṅkarācārya-Caritam by Govinda and (3) Guru-Vamśa-Kāvya by Kāśī Lakshmana Sāstri.
8. Also vide : आचार्यविजयाख्यानby Paramakavi III : 120 - 122;
9. Vide : S.V. of Anantānandagiri Ch. 58, last stanza.
10. It may be here noted that according to Cidvilāsa, Brahmānanda Sarasvati and Vallisahaya also. Vāṇi or Sarasvati was standing in mid-air throughout the episode. According to Cidvilāsa, however, unlike Anantānandagiri, Mandana was made a Sannyāsin by Śaṅkara and then only. Vāni started gooing to heaven. Moreover, unlike Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa says that when after Śaṅkara returned from the king;s body and satisfied Vāṇi with regard to her queries, she started going to heaven again, Śaṅkara entreated her in a variety of ways to go with him an ultimatelly got her to accede to his request and then getting her down from the aerial path, took her

alongwith his disciples like Padmapāda and Hastāmalaka to the Vibhāṇḍaka forest.

11. Read : परकायाप्रवेश तु राजस्त्रीभोगतस्तदा ।
स जातदोषशान्त्यर्थं काशीक्षेत्रं ययौ गुरुः ॥
भागीरथ्यां च विधिवत्स्नात्वा विश्वेश्वरं शिवम् ।
संपूज्य विश्वनाथं तु तुष्टाव शङ्करो गुरुः ॥

The Lord said to Śaṅkara पापलेशस्य संबन्धस्तव नाऽस्ति न संशयः ॥ Brahmānanda Sarasvati Bṛ. Ś.V. Ch. XIX

12. Vide (i) Vyāsācala (Ś.V.) XII : 79 to 81, (ii) Mādhava (S.Ś. Jaya) - XVI : 83, (iii) Govindānatha (Śan. Carita) - IX : 14 to 16, (iv) Nilakaṇtha : Śan. Abhvudaya): VI : 88 (v) Brahmānanda Sarasvati (Bṛ.Ś.V.) : Ch. XIX.

13. Vide : 'Three Great Ācāryas' - p. 37

13A. Vide : 'm̐Psychology of Insanity' by Dr. Bernard Hard.

14. Vide his Śaṅkarācārya - p. 20

15. Read : वाणीं विजित्य च वियद्विशदात्मदेहाम् । सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरूह्य च तत्र काञ्च्याम् ॥
विद्वद्वरार्चितपदो यतिसार्वभौमः । दैव्याः पुरः परतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये ॥

Quoted in Suṣamā on st.33 or Guru-Ratna-Mālikā and by T.S. Narayana Sastry in his Age of Śaṅkara - p.226 - Both quoted as from Bṛ.S.V. of Citsukha.

16. Read : सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य ततस्तदग्रे । मिश्रान्विजित्य सहसोपनतान् प्रयागात् ।
अध्यास्त काञ्चिमभिमाण्डितकामकोटिन पीठो मठं निजमवाप्य स शारदाख्यम् ॥
Quoted in Suṣama on St. 31 of G.R.M.

17. Read : इदं पद्यं (St. 29 of G.R.M.''मूलं परकीयवपु' रित्यादि)'' अत्रत्या कतिपये काममाचार्यविजयविद्याशङ्करविजयादिषु निषण्णबुद्धयः 'अकृतोभयभारती' मिति यत्किञ्चित्पदव्यत्ययेन पद्मण्डनमिश्रेति (st. 22 of G.R.M.) पद्यसमनन्तरं पठन्ति । समर्थयन्ति च तदानीमेव सरस्वतीविजयम् । अस्याऽत्र पाठस्तूचितः । सर्वज्ञपीठाधिरोहणसमय एवं तद्विजयस्य शिवरहस्य-बृहच्छङ्कर-विजय-केरलीयशङ्करविजय-प्राचीनशङ्कर-विजय-व्यासाचलीयादिषु निरुपितत्वात् ॥

18. Vide : Govinda's Śaṅkaracaritam - IX : 12, Rājacūdāmani Dikṣita's Śaṅ. Daya - IV : 49 and Mādhava's S.Ś. Jaya - X - 18.

"Shri Rama"

# What do the Shaṅkara Vijayas say about Shrī Shaṅkarāchārya?

**Dr. W. R. Antarkar**

My paper today is based on my Doctoral thesis on Shri Ādi Shaṅkarāchārya, entitled "Shankara Vijayas : A comparative & a Critical Study", submitted to the University of Poona in 1960 and accepted by them in 1961 for the conforment upon me of the Ph.D. Degree. The title of the paper, as announced already, is áwhat do the Shaṅkara Vijayas say about Shri Ādi Shankarāchārya'. Principally, it deals with the life - account of Shri Shaṅkarāchārya, as given in the various biographies in Sanskrit, written by different persons at different times and there compositely called by the term 'Shankara Vijayas'. It also touches briefly upon a few important but controversial points connected with Shrī Shaṅkarāchārya. A full discussion of these & even a brief reference to some other topics, though not altogether unimportant, is beyond the scope of this paper.

There are about 18 such biographical works in Sanskrit and they are as follows :

1. Bṛhat Shaṅkara Vijaya or Guru Vijaya - By Sarvjña Citsukhāchārya
2. Prācīna Shaṅkara Vijaya - By Ānandagiri a/s Anandajnana
3. Shaṅkara Vijaya - By Vyāsācala
4. Shankara Vijaya or Maṭanibarhaṇa - By Anantānandagiri
5. Shaṅkara Vijaya Vikāsa - By Cadvikāsa yati
6. Keralīya Shaṅkara Vijaya or Shankarāchārya Caritam - By Govindamātha
7. Bharat Shankara Vijaya - By Brahmānanda Saraswatī.
8. Shaṅkara Vijaya Saṅgraha or Kūsmāṇḍa Vijaya - By Purusottam Bhāratī
9. Sanksepa Shankara Jaya - By Mādhavāchārya
10. Shankara Digvijaya Sāra - By Sadānanda Yati
11. Āchārya Digvijaya - Parameshvara Kavi Kanthīrava
12. Āchārya Digvijaya Campus - By Vallīsahāya
13. Shaṅkarābhayudaya - By Tirumala Dīxit

14. Shaṅkarābhyudaya - By Nīlkaṇṭha

15. Shaṅkarābhyudaya - By Rājachūdāmani Dīxit

16. Guru Vaṁsha Kāvya - By Kashi Laksmana Suri

17. Bhagavadpadaphyudayam - By Kāshī Lakṣmaṇa Shāstri

18. Shaṅkarachārya Mahima - By Bala Gopala Yati

19. Shaṅkaramandāra Saurabha - By Nīlakantha

20. Shaṅkarendra Vilāsa - By Vākpati Bhatta

Out of these, the first two and the last one never became available to me but quotations from and references to them are to be found in certain books. No. 7 and 17 have been seen by me but are not in my possession. The last one is not supposed to be a biography of Shrī Shaṅkārāchārya but is supposed to have some bearing on it & hence, it has been included in the above list.

From the list given above, it will be seen that all the 18 works do not bear strictly the name Shankara Vijaya. Actually, only two works do so. Yet, 10 other works contain this name as a part of their complete title. Āchārya is the same as Shankara and hence Āchārya Digvijaya is just Shankara Vijaya. The remaining 7 names strike a slightly different note but the contents of these are similar to those of the first eleven and hence it is that I have named all those 18 biographies by the common title Shankara Vijaya.

This term Shankara Vijaya literally means âthe triumph of Shankaraâ which obviously refers to the tours undertaken by him for holding discussions with the leaders of different schools of Philosophical thought and his ultimate triumph over all of them without exception. In this connection, it is worth noting that the Shankara Vijaya of Anantanandagiri is also called Mat-Nibarhana, (मतनिबर्हण) which means refutation of views (of Shaṅkarāchārya's opponents). Br. Ś. V. of Br. Saras. consists of two parts, the first part consisting of 25 chapters which give the life account of Shaṅkarāchārya and the second consisting of 80 chapters, which describe refutation by Shankaracharya of as many as 72 different schools of thought. All the biographies in Sanskrit describe these discuesions and Śaṅkarāchārya's triumph at varying details. These, however, form a part of these biographies, all of which give in addition an account of his life from his birth to his passing away and from this point of view, the title Shaṅkarāchārya Ceritam of Govindanāthaâs work (No. 6) is more in keeping with the contents of these works than the other titles, particularly the first 12.

Out of these works, the late Mr. T. S. Nārāyaṇa Sāstri of Madras appears from his work 'Age of Shankara' to have possessed the first two and the last works but gives us some particulars of the first one only. Thus, he tells us that Br. Ś. V. of Citsukha consisted of three parts, viz. 1) पूर्वाचार्यसप्रथ (30chh.) 2) शंकराचार्यसप्रथ (170) and 3) सुरेश्वराचार्यसप्रय (24 chapters) and was written by one Citsukhāchārya, his direct disciple, formerly his co-student at the Gurukula & known as Visnu Sharma. He tells us very clearly that he had in his possession a mutilated copy of the second, of the three parts. Based on this second part, he has given us Citsukhaâs version of Shaṅkarāchārya's life, upto Shaṅkarāchārya's meeting with Kumāri-la-Bhatta, with quotations from that work from time to time. This account is so very refreshingly natural and stands out in marked contract to the highly artificial ones of the later biographers.

About Pr. Ś. V., the late Shri Balashastri Heridas of Nagpur had told me personally that Kāñcī Swāmiji (H. H. Shri. Candrasekharandra Saraswati) had placed before him a palm leaf ms of that work which for some reasons, he did not accept them. My repeated attempts go get at the same have resulted in failure so far.

Regarding the time of the origin of these biographies, it is difficult to say anything with any certainly. If what Mr. T. S. N. Śāstrī says about the Br. Ś. V. of Citsukha is correct, Citsukh at once becomes a comtemporary of Shaṅkarāchārya and his work a contemporary account of Ś's life. The exact date of Citsukha will depend upon the date of Shaṅkarāchārya, which is highly controversial. Regarding Pr. Ś. V., we know next to nothing reliable about the identity of the author and hence nothing can be said about him with certainty. About all the other works, we can say that there is hardly any work before the 14th Cent. A.D., the latest being the two works of Nilkantha, which are the products of the 19th Cent. A.D. - all for removed in time from Śri Ādi Shaṅkarāchārya and the genuine tradition about him.

About the life account of Shaṅkarāchārya given in these biographies, I feel constrained to say that except the one in Citsukhaâs work, there is hardly any one of them that inspires confidence in its reliability and which can be relied upon fully. Most of them treat Shaṅkarāchārya as an incarnation of Lord Shiva and begin their works in a mythical strain. The other characters in the story like Mandana, his wife, Sanandana, Kumārila Bhatta and so on are incarnations of some god or the other of the Hindu pentheon. Except two or three works besides Citsukh of course, none gives the date of Shaṅkarāchārya's birth and none without an exception gives the date of any other incident in his life, including that of his passing away. All this appears in sharp contract to Citsukhaâs work, which, according to Mr. Shastri, has given the dates of all the major incidents in his life. The life-account of Shaṅkarāchārya given by Citsukha also is, as said earlier, far more natural and appealing then that in the matter but to have drawn on some old tradition, altered and even distorted in course of time. In their enthusiasm to add to the glory of Shaṅkarāchārya, they have not appreciated that they have done scant justice and more herm both to him and to history. When put together, the biographies give broadly a common account, more or less, of the main incidents in Shaṅkarāchārya's life, with variations at a number of places. The common account can be summarised as follows :

Vidyādhirāja was a learned brahmin, living at Kāladi and had a son named Shivaguru. This son also became learned like his father, he was also a follower of the vedic religion. He was married to a girl (called Āryāmba) from a respectable family but the couple had no issue even after a long time. By mutual agreement, therefore, they performed severe penance to propitiate lord Vrsacale iee. Shiva. The Lord was pleased and as desired by them, blessed them with a short lived but an omniscient son. The boy, when born, was named Shankara. He started learning things very early & by his fifth year, he was ready for Vedic studies. His father had expired by that time and, therefore, his relatives performed his thread ceremony and sent him to the Gurukula for studies. With his precocious talents, he mastered everything in a short time and returned home. His mother desired him to become a house-holder but he wanted to become a Sannyasi, to which she would not agree. One day, therefore, when he had gone to the river Purna for bathing in it and his foot was caught by a crocodile, he obtained his motherâs permission to become a Sannyasin, which alone could save his life. With that permission, he left in search of a spiritual master, but not before promising to come to her whenever she remebered him and also to perform her last rites himself. He went to Govinda Muni on the banks of the Narmada, where the sage intiated him into Sannyāsa and made him self-realised. Sometime thereafter, the Master bade his disciple go to Kāshī to propagate Advaita philosophy by writing commentar-

ies on the Prasthana traya and defeating the other theorists in the field. Accordingly , Shaṅkarāchārya went to Kāshī, where he wrote his famous commentaries and then started expounding them to disciples. who began to come to him for initiation and instruction. His first disciple was Sanandana, who later became Padmapāda. During his stay there, he had an encounter with Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa, in connection with his commentary on the Brahma-Sutras. Sometime after this, he had encounters first with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and then with Maṇḍana Mishra, both renowned Mimāṁsakas of his time. He defeated Maṇḍana in argument and then overcame his wife also by performing the miracle of entering the dead body of a king to master the science of love in the company of the ladies in the Kingâs harem. Thereafter, he toured the whole country, defeating in argument many opponents of Advaita Philosophy, which he established and propagated everywhere he went. In the meantime, he was also required to attend to his dying mother and perform her funeral rites. He established mutts at four places in India, viz Dwārakā, Badri Kedāra, Jagannāthe Puri & Shṛṅgerī and placed his chief disciplies in change of the same. He also got his disciples like Padmapāda and Sureshvara to write Vadāntic works like Paṅcapādikā, Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and so on. During this period, he acquired two more disciples, viz Hastāmalaka and Totaka. Towards the and of his life, he went to Kāshī again, where he was visited and blessed by his grand-preceptor Gauḍapāda. Hence, he went to Kāshmīra, where he ascended the Sarvajña-pīṭha and immediately thereafter, he went to the Himālayas, where he gave up his human body and went back to his Divine Abode-Kailāsa.

There are certain points in the different life-accounts which deserve to be noted.

(1) Firstly there are certain incidents, whcih have given by Citsukha only but not by any other biographer. Thus, the passing away of Govinda Muni (Râmabhadra Dīxitâs Patanjali Carita only mentions if), Shaṅkarāchārya's encounter with the third great Mimāṁsaka of the time, Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa, (whose name has been mentioned by some biographers), the story of Udanka - later Udaṅkācārya, have not at all been given by any later biographer.

(2) Secondly, there are certain incidents, which have been given by some biographers only, and then also with many differences in details. Thus, the Stories of (1) Goddess Lakshmi raining gold amalakas in the courtyard of the poor brahmin lady while Shankaracharya was at the Gurukula, (ii) Sages like Agastya coming to his house after his return home from the Gurukula but before he became a Sannyasin & left it (iii) king RajaShekhara coming to him for blessings for getting a son, then reading out to him, there dramas written by him and later on, Shankaracharya reproducing them from his memory (iv) Shankaracharya cheking the torrential waters of the river Narmada when at his Masterâs place, (v) his encounter with Candala at Kashi, (vi) Lord Shiva emerging out of the Lingam and declaring that Advaita was Satya (vii) Shankaracharyaâs encounters with Ugra Bhairava, Krakaca Kapalin and so on, and lastly (viii) his contracting the Bhagandara disease, have all been given by alimited number of biographers, the number and the biographers varying with the incidents. Thus, Shankaracharyaâs encounter with the Candala has been given by Tiru D. Madhavacarya & Nilakantha only, the story of Satyam Advaitam has been given by Brahma Saras; Cidvilasa, Anantanandagiri & Vallisahaya, out of which Cid. pute it kashi and the last two at Madhyarjana, while the story of cheking of Narmada-waters has been given by other four writers only, viz Brahma.Saras; Madhava, Sadananda and Nilakantha.

3) Thirdly, certain incidents have been given by most of (even all) the biographers but without any uniformity of details. This is true of stories like Shankaracharyaâs encounters with Badarayana Vyasa, Mandanamishra his meetings with Govinda muni and Gaudapada, his Parakayapravesha, his attending to his dying mother and the like. The variations leave us wondering as to what exactly happened in these cases, if, at all, incidents like his encounters with Vyasa and Gaudapada did take place.

4) Lastly, the timings and the order of the various incidents have also been given differently by

different biographers. The passing away of Shankaracharyaâs mother has been given by some after his initiation by Govinda muni while others have put it after he defeats Mandana. In fact, the biographers do not seem to know at which stage of his life she passed away or where he was just prior to it. They, however, with the exception of Citsukha and perhaps Anandagiri also, seem to be agreed that he came to know about her approaching end by his Yogic powers and that he went all alone to meet her by the aerial path. Similarly, Shankara. Gaudapada meeting has been described by Citsukha, Cidvilasa and Brah. Saras. at the beginning of his carear and in the Himalayas whereas Madhava, Sadananda and Nilakantha narrae it towards the end of his career & say that it took place at Kashi. The story of his Para Kaya.pravesha has actually been mistimed by those who connect it with his encounter with Mandana, whereas it is more likely to have taken place, if at all, at the time of his ascending the Sarvajna Pitha. Lastly, utter confusion of order is seen in the itinerary of Shankaracharya as described by the different writers, who give us about half a dozen different routes of his Digvijaya yatra.

Thus, if there is hardly a single incident in Shankaracharyaâs life uniformly given by the biographers, some incidents have developed intofierce controversies among the different mutts established by him. Such is the case with (i) the birth place of Shankaracharya (ii) the place of his passing away, (iii) the place where be ascended the Sarvajna.pitha (iv) whether or not he established a mutt ar kanchi and (v) his date out of these, the first three take the events for granted but dispute their exact location, the fourth is a question of fact and the last is a question of history or chronology.

In the first three cases, there is a choice between two places each. There is not much controveray about Shankaracharyaâs place of birth. Except for the reading in the printed copy of Anantanadagirilâs Shankara - Vijaya, giving Cidambaraas the birth-place, all other biogrphies of Shankaracharya give Kaladi as the place and the works of Madhva pandits also favour the same. The other mss, of Anantaâs work seen by me, however, given Kaladi only as the birth-place of Shankaracharya.

Three places have been mentioned in connection with his passing away, viz. Trichur, Kanci and the Himalayas. The first has been given by Goviddanatha only but no other biographer says that he was anywhere in Kerala during his last days and therefore the real contest lies between Kanci & Himalayas. Regarding the Himalayas, again, some people say that he passed away at Badari Ksetra while others say that he entered the Dattatraya Cave further up and thence went to Kailasa. What I feel is this :

Upto his meetings with Govinds Muni, Kumarila & Mandana, the accounts are agreed more or less. Thereafter, he must have planned his subsequent course of action and also the order at least broadly. Beginning in the north already, he must have decided to finish his work there first, including the wast & east coasts and them only to come down to the South with a view to settling there only. All the biographers describe his visits first to Shringeri and then to Kanchi but no one - not even Madhava - says that he spent last days of his life there, whereas some biographers do say that he passed away at Kanchi. It seems unreasonable to believe that he went to the north again , accompanied every time as he was by a number of his disciples.

Added to this is the fact that the accounts of his passing away in the north are extermely overlaid with the supernatural and hence unrealistic while those of his end at Kanchi are much more natural and believable comparatively. This is also reenforced by the following pieces of evidence.

i) According to Mr. Sastri, Citsukha and Anandagiri say that Shankaracharya passed away at Kanci. Works like Sivarahasya & those of Raja Dixit, and Anantanandagiri favour this view.

ii) The Guruparampara of Kudli Shrngeri mutt clearly refers to Shankaraâs passing away at Kanci only.

iii) A large amount of sculptural evidence in and about kanci, bearing out Shankaracharyaâs close connection with the place seems to point in the same direction.

The balance of evidence seems, therefore, to be in favour of Kanci as the place where Shankaracharya passed away.

The same line of argument seems to apply to the story of the Sarvajna pitha also. Here, again, Kanci and Kashmir are the two contending places, claimed by persons who hold that Shankaracharya passed away at Kanci & in this Himalayas rsp. The question is somewhat complicated because a Sarvajna pitha in Kashmir is well known at least at present while the one at kanci is almost unknown to anyone. Yet, as many as 5 or 6 biographers, who include Citsukha and Anandgiri (of course, according to Mr. Sastri) have referred to Kanci as the correct place. Once again the order of events becomes important and the Kashmir version is full of variarions which make that account suspicious. Most of the biographers put the event towards the end of Shankaracharyaâs life and the biographers bring him to Kashmir from different places (Jh oYyh vxzgkj O;klk)

Kashi - Madhava, Sadananda & Nilakntha; Jagannathpuri - Guru Vamsha Kavya) Sada & G.V.K. bring him back to Kanci, G.V.K. taking him to Kashi also thereafter, before going to the Himalayas). The Kanci version is at least more natural and hence believable, except for the location of the pitha there. At the most, therefore, we can keep the question open till better evidence comes to tight.

The last two episodes are very closely related to the larger issue of the establishment of a fifthe Mutt at Kanci by Sri Sankaracharya. The supporters of this view maintain that this was the last mutt established by Shankaracharya, who occupied it as its first Acharya, from whom an unbroken succession of Acharyas, as mentioned in the Gururatnamalika with the commentary Susma thereon and Punya - Shloka manjari, has come down upto the present day. This centre is called by them Kanci Kamakoti pitha and is said to have a branchmutt at Kumbakonam. According to Mr. Sastri, Citsukha and Anandagiri testify to the establishment of this mutt at Kanci.

The Srinergri and the Dwarka mutte in particular oppose this view vehemently and hold that the so-called Kanci mutt is only about two or three hundred years old. According to them, the many âauthoritiesâ cited by Gurrathmala are all fabrications, that the so-called Guru-parampara itself is nothing but a string of names of emient person in the literary political & historical fields. They also point out that the Kanci mutt has no valid Mahavakya or Veda of its own and its title Indta-Saraswati is outside the ten recognised titles for Sannyasis. Lastly, the establishment is not mentioned by any biographer except the most doubtful Anantanandagiri & Brah Saras.

This criticism is worth consideration in many details. Yet, the possibility of works of Citsukha & Anandagiri has been suggested already. Moreover, the establishment of no other mutt out of the four has been mentioned by any later biographer. The establishment of mutt at Sringeri has also been mentioned by Anantanandagiri only, whom the Shringeri people consider unreliable. The points made out in connection with Shankaracharyaâs passing away seem to be in favour of a mutt at Kanci. Better evidence only, if and when it becomes available , can clinch the issue.

Regarding the date of Shankaracharya, only two views need to be considered, viz. 5 0 B.C. to 4 7 7 B.C. and 7 8 8 - 8 2 0 A.D.

The first of these is based on the uniform tradition of the 4 or 5 Mutts and on works of Citsukha, Anandagiri and some Jain works. The amin diffidulty in accepting this date is that, firstly none of these works has become available so far and secondly, it upsets the dates of a number of other persons like Kumarila, Mandana, Gaudapada, Badarayana Vyasa and Jalmini, Patanjali and many jain & Buddhist writers, whcih it is not easy tp support or substantiate. Recently, some persons like Mr. Udayavir Shastri, Mr. Kulkarni have attempted to support this prechrisstain date by making use of some historical and astro-

nomical material available in the Puranas & the MBh, bearing on ancient Indian Chronology. As against this, however, and in addition to the difficulties mentioned earlier, Mr. R.M.Umosh, an adherent of the Sringeri Mutt, has in his book âShankaraâs Dateâ produced voluminous evidence from jain & Sanskrit Darshana - works to show that Shankaracharya could not in any case have flourished earlier than 5th Cent. A.D. and unless and until his evidence is answered point by point, it will be uncritical to maintain a pre-Christain date for Shankaracharya. The various Shankara Vijayas that we have today, are practically silent on this point and the only two that mention the date say that Shankaracharya was born in 788 A.D. and the implication is clear.

I shall conclude my paper with a few remarks on the achievments of Shankarcharya in general.

Men like Shankaracharya have a definite purpose for their life and they seem to have a clear vision of it right from the beginning.

Shankaraycharyaâs contribution lay principally in the philosophical and the spiritual realm. There was then a medly of philosophical views with the Buddhists and Jains questioning the authority of the Vedas.

The Mimamsakas restored the authority but they concentrated on the ritual part (karma-Kanda) of it, relegating the knlowledge of the Upanisads to a second place and this laid to a sureeit of ritualistic action, whcih was called Dharma. Shankaracharya accepted this action but as a preparation for a higher goal, viz. the attainment of self-realisation or God-realisation. This God he called Brahman, in conformity with the upanisads and held that that was the only one absolute reality, all duality being Mithya or relatively real. This is his value philosophy, which assigns Absolute value to this Brahman and instrumental value to all duality. He finds fault with man for assigning absolute value to his worldly life and not with the worldlylife itself. This is his Advita philosophy, which the proprounded in his commentaries on the Prashantraya and maintained and propagated in the course of his discussions with the leaders of various schools of religious and philosophical thought. He won them over to his own way of thinking, not by domolishing their views completely but by correcting them wherever they were found defective.

Finally, he established mutts at key places i India, where he appointed his trusted and qualified disciles to propagate and carry on the tradition of his philosophy of thought and action among the members of the society within their own jurisdictions, giving them guidance wherever necessary.

Whether he established the worship of the five deities (Paincayatana Puja) or not, as made out by his recent biographers, is a moot point as far as the Shankara. - Vijayas are concerned but the could certainly not have been opposed to the Worship of different deities within certain limite and shown of their unhealthy elements, so long as the ultimate goal was not lost sight of. It was in this way that he can be said to have unified the various pholosophical theories and religious practices then prevailing. They were all brought under one banner of Advaita.

This brings me to the end of my paper. I am aware that my treatment of the major topics like Shankaracharyaaâs Date has not been sufficiently exhaustive while I have not even touched upon certain other topics like Shankara-Mandana discussion, identity of Mandana and the like. But withing the limits of thepaper, I could not do better and I hope you will aappreciate my difficulty.

I am thankful to Dr. Ravindra Ramdas for honouring me by inviting me here to read this paper and thus to inauguarate this seminar on Shri Shankaracharya. I am equally thankful to you all for giving me a very patient hearing.

Thank you,

W. R. Antarkar<br>
15, Shraddhananda Road,<br>
Vile Parele (East),<br>
Bombay 400 057

<u>Abbreviations :</u>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shaṅkara | - | Shaṅkarāchārya |
| Br. Ś. V. | - | Bhat Shaṅkara Vijaya |
| Anantā | - | Anantānandgiri |
| Brah. Saras | - | Brahamānnda Saraswatī |
| P. Ś. V. | - | Prācīna Shaṅkara Vijaya |
| Rāja. D. | - | Rājacūdamani Dixit |
| Tiru. D. | - | Tirumula Dixit |

# ŚAṄKARA-VIJAYA OF ANANTĀNANDAGIRI

DR. W.R. ANTARKAR

AFTER discussing the works of Citsukha and Ānandagirī, I wish to deal with the third of the ten works referred to in my previous article.[1] I intend to discuss only two such works as they have given rise to some contraversy. The present work is one of the two and is taken up first because that in my humble opinion, is comparatively the older one.

This work was published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1881 A.D. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. It is also available in ms-form at many places. [2] All these copies generally contain 74 chapters through the Kāśī and Śaṅkeśvara mss. have only 73 chapters. The Saṅkeśwara mutt ms. gives the name ofthe work as mata-nibarhana (refutations of theories) whereas the dolophons to the first three chapters of the work in the printed edition give its name as Ācārya-Vijaya.[3]

There are two controversial issues with regard to this work. viz. (1) Identity of the author and (2) authenticity of the work itself. I shall deal with them separately.

Identity of the author

The colophons at the end of the first 82 chapters of the printed edition of this work give the author's name as Anantānandagiri whereas the remaining 42 chapters give it as Ānandagiri. This creats the impression that one and the same person bears these two names. This impression seems to be current among many scholars even today, Who believe it at this work is written by Ānandagiri, the famous commentor of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāsyas. In my humble opinion, however Anantānandagiri and Ānandagiri are two distinct individuals, out of whom the first and not the second is the author of the work in questions. My reasons are as follows :

---

1. Vide JUB Vol.XXIX - Part 2 - Sept. 60.
2. (i) Ānandāśrama Mss. Library, Poona, (ii) Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, (iii) Shrṅrāma Taraka Mutt, Kasi. (iv) Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore etc.
3. The Stanzas quoted by Sasama as from Ācārya Vijaya are found in this S.V. The work Ācārya-Vijaya, therefore is not an anonymous work as maintained by Mr. R.K. Aiyar in his booklet, 'Kumbakonam Mutt claims'

(1) The Ānandāśrama Mss. Library, Poona, contains two mss. of this work. I have also a copy of the same procured from the Sankara vara mutt. All these three mss. give in all the colophons the name of the author as Anantanandagiri.

(2) At the very commencement of the work ifself, the author refers to himself as Anantānandagiri. [4] At the beginning of Ch. IV. however, of the same, he refers to Ānandagiri independently and that also by the side of Śuddhānanda. [5]

(3) Ānandagiri, the commentator of Srī Śankara's Bhāsya invariably refers to himself as the disciple of Śuddhānanda Yati whereas we do not get a single such reference in any of the colophone either in the printed copy or in the mss. Our author has referred to Śankara as his Paramaguru and called himself his vizfrgrfâk'; [6] suggesting his contemporaneity with his Guru. Curiously enough, he refers to himself in the third person but in the same capacity of a direct disciple, in a later chapter.[7]

(4) I have already referred in my previous article, to 800 and odd stanzas quoted by Dhanapatisūrin in his commentary Ḍiṇḍima on ch. XV of Mādhava's S. Ś. Jaya and also shown that not even one of these can be traced to the Ś. V. of Anatā., at present under consideration and that they must have belonged to an older work which can be identified as Pr. Ś. V. of Ānandagiri, the disciple of Śuddhānanda.[8] These stanzas describe in details the various staages of Śankaraâs triumphant tour. The Ś. V. of Anantā in question is mostly occupied with a similar description. On a comparison of the two decription it was found that they agreed with each other almost completely with regard to (1) the order of the various stages of the tour, (2) the name of the opponents and also of the places where they were encountered. (3) the description of the two, (4) arguments and citations on either side, (5) the period of Śaṅkaraâs stay at every place etc. In spite of this agreement, however, it is clear that the two descriptions are from two different pens, for,

---

4. Read the opening words - अनन्तान्दगिरिरहम्.................।
5. Read: .................. भानुमरीचिकृष्णदर्शनबुद्धिविरिञ्चिपादशुद्धानन्दान्दगिरिप्रमुखैः शिष्यवरैः सेव्यमानः .........श्रीशङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्य ।
6. Read : अनन्तानन्दगिरिरहमप्रतिहतशिष्यः मम परमगुरिरवतारकथां ..........करोमि । and also his solutation, just prior to this sentence-
नमामि शङ्कराचार्यगुरूपादसरोरूहम्। यस्य प्रसादान्मूढोऽपि सर्वज्ञोऽहं सदास्म्यलम् ॥
7. Read - कदाचिच्छिप्याः अनन्तान्दगिरिप्रमुखाः परमगुरुं नत्वेदमूचुः । ch. 66
8. Vide - XXIX, Part 2, Sept. 60

(a) The order of stages in Ananta's work is different at two or three places from the one as found in the quoted stanzas.

(b) Ananta's work contains more prose and less poetry and much more annotative matter than is to be found in the quoted stanzas.

(c) The bulk of the stanzas quoted cannot at all be traced to Ananta.âs work.

All these faets, I believe, are sufficient to show that Anantânandagiri, the author of our present work is distinct from the celebrated. Ānandagiri though the question who followed whom remains undecided. I am supported in my belief by Prof. B. Upādhayāya who also holds the same view in this matter.[9] The misconception about the identity of the two has led the late Mr. M. R. Bodas to remark that the stanza 'कल्यद्वैश्च शरेक्षणाध्वनयनै:' etc. quoted as from Ānandagiri's work is not found in the printed work (i.e. Ś. V. of Anantā.)[10] The stanza properly belongs to Pr. Ś. V. of Ānandagiri. To decide the question of priority and the true meaning of the expression अप्रतिहतशिष्य we must try to settle the date of Anantā. The late Mr. Telang has advanced mainly two arguments for the purpose. [11] They are :

(1) Anantā. cites in ch. XIX of his work the stanza 'अजामेकां लोहितशक्लकृष्णाम्' etc. as a śruti text. According to Mr. Telang, this stanza is not a sruti text but is one of the introductory stanzas in Vācaspatiâs Sānkhyatattvakaumudī. Vācaspati's generally assigned to the 9th cent. A. D. Ś.V. of Anantā., therefore, has to be placed later.

This however, does not seem to be convincing for the stanza in question is not only found in Śvetasvatara Up. (4.5) but has also been quoted as a śruti text by Śri Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on the Br. Sutras, (Vide comm. on Br. Su. 1:4:8).

(2) Ś.V.quotes in ch. XI and XL, three stanzas as from Adhikaranaratnamālā or Vyāsādhikarranamala,[12] traditionally ascribed to Mādhavācārya a/s Vidyāranya or Bhāratītīrtha, his preceptor. Both persons are

9. Vide श्रीशङ्कराचार्य–जीवनचरित तथा उपदेश – p. 11.
10. Vide श्रीशङ्कराचार्य व त्यांचा सम्प्रदाय – p. 18.
11. Vide Indian Antiquary - Vol. V-p. 287.
12. The stanzas are :

generally held to beong to the latter half of the 14th cent. A.D. at the latest. Anantā. therefore, cannot be placed earlier than the 14th cent. A.D.

If this is correct, Anantā. cannot be admitted to be Śankara's direct disciple, even if we accept for the lattter the latest date, viz. 8th cent. A.D. The expression अप्रतिहतशिष्य may, therefore, mean that Anantā. came in the direct line of Śankara and nothing more.

Now, according to the line of succession of the Kāncī mutt (which the Śṛngerī people call into question), Śuddhānanda and Ānandagiri are the 6th and 7th ācāryas from the first ācārya. If this is true and if following the method adopted by modern scholars for computing time we ascribe an average of 25/30 years to every ācārya. Ānandagiri cannot be placed much later than 200 years after Śaṅkara.

Even if we choose to distrust the Kāñcī succession list, we can prove Ānandagiriâs priority to 1100 A.D. in another way. According to Veṅkata Dixit and Jayatīrtha, the commentators of Rāmānujācārya and Madhvācārya, the latter criticise Śaṅkara's interpretation of the Bhg. at many places. Now Ānandagiri has also commented upon Śankara's GBh. If he had known the criticisms of Rāmā. and Madhva, e would certainly have tried to defend Śankara against them but he does not do so anywhere. This is possible only on the hypothesis that he preceded both and, therefore, also preceded 12th cent. A.D. This automatically proves his priority to Ananta. who as already shown cannot be placed carlier than the 14th cent. A.D.

The conclusion. therefore, seems irresistible that Ānandagiri is the earlier of the two writers, and that Anantā. must have drawn upon his Pr. Ś. V. while writing his own Ś. V.[13] In the absence of the former, it is not possible to say anything about its authenticity and the same granted also, it is not possible to say how far the Anantā has kept to the original or where and how much, if at all, he has deviated from the same. It is, therefore, unsafe to draw any inferences as to the authenticity of Anantā's work. For that, we must look to other sources and that brings me to the second of the two issues referred to at the beginning.

---

अविचार्य विचार्य वा ब्रह्मासाध्यसनिरूपणात । असन्देहफलत्वाम्यां न विचारं तदर्हति ।
अध्यासोऽहं ब्रह्मशद्रः साङ्गब्रह्मश्रुतीतीरितम् । सन्देहान्मुक्तिमावाच्च विचार्यं ब्रह्म द्वै ततः ॥ on Br. Su. 1:1:1:
and परिप्लवार्थमाख्यानं किं वा विद्यास्तुतिस्तुतैः । व्यायांऽनुष्ठानशेषचं तेन्द पारिप्लवार्थकः ॥ on Br. Su. 8 : 4 : 28

Authenticity of the work

Opinion is sharply divided on this point both among the traditionsts and the modern scholars. The Kāncī mutt people look upon this work as very authoritative and have taken great pains to answer objections raised against if [14] The Śṛngeri Mutt and its adherent however, negative the claim with equal vehemence, saying that it is more or less a fabrication for the express purpose of boosting up the claim of the Kāncī Mutt,[15] which has also published an "embellishedä (परिष्कृत) edition of the same and hence it is valueless for purposes of history. The reasons given for this view may be stated as follows :

(1) Both the original and the 'embellished' editions "even in its language and in its contents bear such evident traces of recent fabrication by unskilled hands that the reliance placed upon it is being relaxed for some time; [16] and that "it is full of disrepancies and mistakes." [17]

(2) It contains references to Rāmānuja and Madhva[18]

Among the moderns, Prof. Wilson alone holds that "the work is sufficiently historical since it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period not far removed from that at which he (i.e. Śankara) may be supposed to have flourished..." Mr. Telang however has controverted this view with regard to the work. Mr. Colins Mackenzie describes this work as äa legendary life of Sankara" [20] while the editor of the catalogue of Miss. in Saraswati Mahal Library , Tanjore, says that "A persual of the work will convince anybody that the work is very unrealiable. It is full of discrepancies and mistake ."[21]

(3) It contains particulars, subversive of all known version of Sankaraâs parentage, birth place and the place of his final csappearance. [22] Thus, Śankara's grand-parents are mentioned as Vidvan Mahendra (विद्वन्महेंद्र) and Kamaksi (कामाक्षी), parents as Sarvjit (सर्वजित) and Visista (विशिष्टा), birth-place as Cidambaram and the place of final departure as Kāñcī. Further, he is stated to hvae met and received inititation into Sannāvasa from Govindamuni at Ciambaram only, from which place

13. It is for this reason also that I cannot accept the contention of the Kanci people that the Pr. S. Jaya referred to by Mâfhvācārya at 1:1 of his S. S. Jaya is the same as the S.V. of Ananta. Vide श्रीशङ्करपीठतत्वदर्शनम – pp. 16 to 20. That otherwise als, this contention cannot be maintained is sufficiently clear from my Previous article (JUB-Vol. XXIX-Part 2, Sept. - 1960). The correspondences referred to by them (i.e. Kanel people) only point to a common source for both.

again, he started on his triumphant sour. His encounter with Vyāsa is very queerly narrated. Perhaps, these are the discrepancies and mistakes referred to in (1) above. We may also add that the work does very scant justice to Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion and omits all reference to important events like the passing away of Śankara's mother, acquisition of disciples like Sadānanda etc.

It must be admited that in this maze of conflicting opinions, it is very difficult to come to a decisive verdict either way. I may however state my findings as follows:

I have yet to see the 'embellished' edition of the work. I was however, told by a Śastrin (Śri Pollaham Ramasastrin) at Mylapore. Madras, that no such edition had been published by the Kāncī Mutt so far. He has written a small booklet on this particulars Ś. V. in some mss. of whcih available in Government Oriental mss. Library, Madras. the additional paragraphs, pointed out by Sri R.K. Aiyar in 'Kumbakonam Mutt claims' as from the embellished edition, were to be found. The Śāstrin told me that this was being described as the 'embellished' edition of the work, putting together all the available mss. of this work in different places was a great necessity and in the circumstances this appears to be the maximum fair criticism of the additional passages.

Mr. Collins' remark, however, that the work is "a legendary life" need not be taken literally for it will be appreciated that to the average western mind, everything and every happening that does not conform to the every-day experience of the common man is a legend. This was particularly so at the beginning of Oriental Studies. After the recent advances in the different fields of science like telepathy and clairvoyance, extra-sensory perception and para-psychology etc.; it is no longer necessary to believe that no suxh things as what can be called 'a miracle' can be a

14. Vide श्रीशाङ्करपीठतत्वदर्शनम – pp. 14 to 16.
15. Vide pamphlets Sri Srngeri Sāradā Mutt and Kāmakoti Tredeepam by Shri S. Sundcramiah and Kumbakonam Mutt claims by Shri R. Krishna. swamy Aiyar
16. Vide Kumbakonam Mutt claims - p. 12.
17. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., Saraswati Mahal, Tanjore, p. 3221.
18. Vide Kumbakonam Mutt claims - p. 12.
19. Shri Venkataraman quoted by Shri Sunderamiah in Sri Srngeri Sāradā Mutt - p. 20.
20. Quoted by K. T. Telang - side I.A. - Vol. V-p. 287.
21. Vide Oxford Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. - p. 618.
22. Vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. Sarasvati Mahāl- p. 8231.

fact of life. Dr. Burnell gives no reasons for the statement re: the modernity of the work. Arguments from style and language are subjective and hence not conclusive.

(ii) Mr. Venkataraman's statement regarding the reference to Rāmānuja and Madhva in Anantā's work cannot be understood. I was unable to find any such reference in the printed edition of the work and neither Mr. Venkataramana nor the two critics, Mr. S. Sunderamiah and Mr. R.K. Aiyar state where these references are to be found. It is, indeed interesting to know that Prof. Wilson thought of placing the work prior to the 11th cent. A.D. just because it made no reference either to Rāmā. or Madhva. [23]

(iii) The main objection seems to be with regard to the particulars of Śaṅkara's particualars of Śankara's parentage etc. I hope to show in a later article that from the evidence in hand, it seems more likely that the place of Śaṅkara's passing away is Kāncī rather than Kailāsa. I shall, therefore, discuss the other aspects of this last objection.

The objection with regard to the particulars of Śaṅkara's parentage will, if true, have to be immediately conceded. I have, however, consulted a number of mss. [24] for this particular purpose and found that they fall into two groups, one giving Kālati as the birth - place of Sankara etc. and the other giving Cidambaram as the birth-place etc. Both these groups contain very old Tāḍa-patra mss, thus obviating the possibility of one of the two being a later thought or fabrication. In the present state of our knowledge, no completely satisfactory explanation can be given for this contradication in the mss. The following two considration may, however, be noted with profit.

(i) Acyutārāya Modak (1820 A.D.) in his connentary on Mādhava's S. Ś. Jaya says : "अनन्तानन्दगिर्युक्तशङरविजये तु" कालट्याख्ये ग्रामवर्ये केरलालङ्कृती द्विज: । "इत्युक्तम्॥"[25]

Comm. on S. S... Jaya - II : 1 This shows that the copy of Ananta's Ś.V. before A. Modak also must have contained the same particulars as in the other biographies of Śankara.

23. Quoted by K. T. Telang-vide I. A.- Vol. V-p. 287.

(ii) While introducing the story of Śankara's life. G.V.K. (Guruvaṁśa-Kāvya) which describes the birth of Śaṅkara at Kālati in Kerala Pradesha, states at I:6 that the same story has already been described by 'great poets' (कवीन्द्रैः।) The commentator who is also the author of the Kāvya states very clearly that the great poets are Ānandagiri-yati and c. (आनन्दगिरिहयतीन्द्रादिभिः) This Kāvya is undoubtedly a Śṛṅgeri mutt work and I leave it to scholars to draw their own conclusions on the matter.

With regard to the omissions, it has been found that almost no biography of Śankara gives any reliable account of Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana controversy. Thesse other works do not also necessarily recount all the incidents in Śankara'a life. It is again the other works, particularly that of Mādhava and those that follow him (works of Sādananda and Nilkaṇṭha) that are guilty of the most glaring anachroisms. No anachronism is to be found in Anantā's work.

All this does not mean that I regard this Ś. V. as absolutely authoritative. My only points is that the arguments and objections put forward against it cannot prove either the forged nature or the unreliability of the work. Palm-leaf mss. of this work are to be found throughout India, from Kāśī to Kāṅcī and Ujjain to Mysore. The charge therefore, that the work in question is forged by the Kāṅcī mutt to serve their ends is as much justified as is the charge that Mādhavācārya's S. S. Jaya was got up by the Srngeri mutt support its claim in it case against the Kāṅcī mutt. ITs authenticity, however, does not follow as logical sequel. As a matter of fact, not one of the 16/17 biographies of Śaṅkara I have worked upon inspires confidence in its authenticity to the expected degree. We have to put together all these biographies and after they are made mutually corroborative, we are able to get only an outline sketch of the great man's life.

---

24. Mss. from (i) Ānandāśrama Mss. Library, Poona 2 mss.; (ii) Sarasvati Mahāl Library, Tanjore - 1 ms.

25. The stanzas in question are :

कालटयाख्ये ग्रामपये केरलालङ्कृती द्विजः । विद्याधिराजतनयः प्राज्ञः शिवगुरुर्बमहै॥
ततः सदाशिवः शाम्भुलोकानुग्रहतत्परः । तपोमहिम्ना तत्पत्न्यां प्रविवेश स्वतेजसा ॥
सा दधार सती गर्भमादित्यसमतेजसम् । व्यजायत शुभे काले पञ्चोच्चग्रसंयुते ॥
आनन्दन् बान्धवाः सर्वे पुष्पपर्षेदिवाच्युतैः । शम्भोर्वरमनुसृत्य पिता शिवगुरुः किल ॥

## ABBREVIATIONS

(i) Anantā - Anantānandagiri

(ii) Rāmā - Rāmānuja

(iii) Ś. V. - Śaṅkara Vijaya

(iv) Pr. Ś. V. - Prācina Śaṅkara Vijaya

(v) S. Ś. Jaya - Saṅkṣepa Śankara Jaya

(vi) Br. Sū -Brahma Sūtras

(vii) GBh - Gītā Bhāṣya

(viii) JUB - Journal of the University of Bombay

(ix) I. A. - Indain Antiquary

# LIFE AND TEACHING OF SHANKARA

By Dr. W.R. Antarkar

SRI Sankaracharya is one of those figures that have adorned the pages of human history. He was born as a Kerala Nambudri Brahmin but died as a universal Immortal. He is regarded as a great philosopher but greater as a mystic still. We may even say that he was more a mystic that a philosopher. That is the impression left behind by his great works.

A mystic is one who has '*Seen*' Reality, or God face to face and has, as a result, developed that divine love or madness for God, which it is difficult to express in language. All true mystics-of all ages and countries-form an eternal. Divine Society of their own. Essentially, they are all the same but practically, they are found to be of two types, viz.

1) those who, after God-realisation, remain immersed in that 'inteffable silent enjoyment of God' and 2) those who are not satisfied with such an enjoyment only and wish to lead others to and help them share in the same. Shri Sankaracarya belonged to the second type.

The lives of such person are brilliant specimens s of lifelong dedication to the service of humanity on a very high-spiritual-plane. They are deeply moved by a genuine feeling of pity for the suffering humanity and by a real desire to lift them out of their misery permanently. They, then, exemplify the principle and practice of *Lokasangraha* in the true sense. Lokasangraha is a term more abused than otherwise. Shri Sankaracarya has defined it as लोकस्य उन्मार्ग प्रवृतिनिवारणनृ" - turning people away from the wrong path (which leads to the objects of sense and thus to grief in the end.) This evidently implies that the people are to be put on the right path, that leads to God and to happiness. Shri Sankaracarya lived up to this ideal throughout his life.

Shri Sankaracarya is generally ackowledged as the first great and systematic exponent of the philosophy of Advait, according to whcih one attributless Brahman is the only Reality, all plurality of individual soul and the diversity of the objects of the world being only empirically real, appearances projected on the basal reality, by Avidya i.e. ignorance of the same. He wrote extensive commentaries on the *Prasthanatraya* as also many minor works and hymns, wherein he preached with a

rare consistancy his philosophical doctrines. A major portion of his commentaries is taken up by itellectual polemics, beyond the capacity of the ordinary person. We are primarily concerned with what he said for the common man by way of spirtual guidance, to lead him to what he regarded as the chief end of human existence - *God-realisation.*

Every being-human or otherwise-is permanently after happiness. Man in particular is eternally in search of a happiness that will never end. After a ceaseless striving , however, throughout his life, he finds that his purpose is far from accomplished. At the end of his life, he is left an exhausted and a disappointed person. The real and root cause of his misery is, according to Shri Sankaracarya, the ego-sense and the attachment to sense-objects arising therefrom. Ego-sense is thus the root of all misery. Ego-sense is just देहबुद्धि – देह: अहं इति या बुद्धि: & the cognition that I am the body. This is the same thing as identification of the body and the true Self or the superimposition of the former on the latter. This superimposition is called adhyasa, which is not that thingâ (अतस्मिस्तद्बुद्धि:) This *adhyasa* is also said to be avidya, which means the ignorance of the nature of oneâs true Self. It may be said that this ignorance leads to the superimposition or identification, which in turn leads to all the ultimate misery in life. Technically, ignorance and superimposition are represented as the two aspects आवरण (concealment of the 'Truth') and विज्ञेप ( distortion of the 'Truth' ) of *Avidya.*

The superimposition, rooted as it is in ignorance, is said to be false or untrue (*mithya*). There is a great disparity between the body and the true Self or the Soul. The body is gross, non-setient and perishable while the soul is eternal and imperishable, the most subtle and sentient principle. In the terminology of Vedanta, the body is असज्जडदु:खरूप while the Soul is सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूप ( चिद्वित्सुखात्मा – as Shri Sankaracarya describes it). Somehow, the Self has forgotten this its true nature, and manâs search for permanent happiness is just the unconscious flight of the soul back to its own nature, which is the home of perennial delight. In the search, however, the ignorance and the consequent superimposition lead the person astray. They make him find happiness in the pleasures of the body and the objects connected therewith. The borrowed, dependent and short-lived delight, however great, which is the maximum that the sense-organs and the sense-objects can yield, cannot satisfy the cravings of the soul, whose very nature is eternal delight. The inevitable result is misery, compositely designated by Shri Sankaracarya as शोक and मोह inspite of the

best efforts of man and even in the wake of maximum of sense - pleasures. This leads to the cycle of births and deaths and the endless succession of miseries. Shri Sankaracarya steps in here to point out that so long as Avidya continues, the misery cannot be escaped. In other words, so long as the Self is not realised in its true nature, all efforts of man to attain happiness are bound ultimately to end in failure. Self-realisation is the key to real and lasting happiness and hence the sole and correct objective of all human efforts. This Self, whcih is the common subjective Reality underlying the phenomena of diverse personalities is just identical with Brahman, the objective Reality, underlying all the experiences and the visible world. Self-realisation is therefore, the same theoretically as Brahman-realisation, culminating in Brahman-realisation is the time panacea for all man's evils.

Self-Realisation or the rise of true i.e. spiritual knowledge, Shri Sankaracharya insists now and then, is the jist of all the Upanishada and of all *paramartha* or *Adhyatma*.

That alone and nothing else-including the highest booklearning-frees man the fetters of *Avidya* and leads him beyond all misery. He has fought long and hard to establish that spiritual knowledge alone, unaided by anything, is the direct means to lineration or freedom (*moksa*) from *Avidya*. All else is at best a means to this knowledge. All practices, karmas and observances are good and useful only in so far as they help the dispelling of Avidya and the rise of knowledge. This knowledge is then called the अन्तरङ्गसाधन - the internal means to Moksa or liberation.

The attainment of this knowledge is not an easy task. Only that person can hope for it who has the four-fold qualification, i) नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेक: discrimination between the eternal and non-eternal, ii) इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविराग: non-attachment to enjoyment of the fruits temporal and celestial, iii) शमदमादिसाधनसंपत् .. control of the sensemind, and iv) मुमुक्षुत्वम an earnest desire to become free from बन्ध i.e. a yearning for God-realisation, which have become famous in Vedanta literature as साधनचतुष्टयम्

This four-fold qualification may be taken to constitute चित्तशुद्धि - purification of the mind, which qualifies an aspirant for God-realisation. To achieve this purification, Shri Sankaracarya advocates, in keeping with his times, the performance of scriptural rites according to one's *Varna* and *Asrama* but without desire for fruit and with a sense of dedication of them all to God. Karma or rites are thus only indirectly useful for liberation and have to be given up when purification of mind is

attained. In the course of the performance of Karmas, a stage is reached when the *Sadhaka* realises the futility of these rites to lead him to the Imperishable Absolute. At this stage, he is advised to approach a spiritual preceptor, who is himself a learned and God-realised person for guidance.

A spiritual preceptor-called Guru or *Acharya*-is said to be essential for guidance on the path to God (i.e. Brahman) and the disciple must have full faith in him. In the beginning, the Guru sets the disciple firmly on the spiritual path bydispelling his doubts by question and answer method. The disciple has to practise श्रवण, मनन निदिध्यासन till his mind decides upon God as the sole aim of all his pursuit. Therefore, the Guru initiates him into one of the four महावाक्यऽतत्त्वमसि & c., everyone of which represents, accordinng to Shri Sankaracarya, the quintessence of the Upanishads and which alone can lead to the true knowledge i.e. Brahman-realisation. The महावाक्य has to be repeated by the disciple continuously till realisation comes. This period will vary with the individuals according to their mental background. When self-realisation comes, the person is at once and permanently placed beyond the pale of *Avidya*, a perfect being, who is eternally free and the very abode of overlasting happiness. This is called *Moksa*, or liberation, which is no new acquisition but rather the soulâs coming into its own-regaining a forgotten empire. The Sadhana does not create anything new for the Sadhaka outside himself. It makes him aware of something, which is all the time his own, by tearing off the veil that obscured it from his vision.

It is important to note that thought Shri Sankaracarya was a strict supporter of the scriptures, and as such held with them that the Vedic rule of life did not apply to all and sundry in the society, he has, befitting a true mystic stated with the Gita in clear terms, that the *gates of eternal knowledge are open to one and all true aspirants.* The real qualification is internal and those who have it can attain Goal by other means like Japan etc., if the Vedic way is not open to them. Shri Sankaracarya thus stressed the deeper aspect of religion and said that all forms must ultimately converge towards the rise of self-knowledge.

The state of liberation, Shri Sankaracarya tells us, can be attained even in the embodied condition. This is known as the doctrine of जीवन्मुक्ति and is a peculiar feature of Shri Sankaracaryaâs philosophy. Such a person - a जीवन्मुक्त rises superior to all rules of morality and scriptures, which have meaning for the ignorant person only

and all karmas cease for him, as knowledge of Self and karmas are said to be opposed to each other as light and darkness. The liberated soul is merged in the Cosmic Consciusness and the sense of doreship and the desire of fruit, which are the result of *Avidya* and the root of karma, have vanished at the dawn of that merger.

A *Jivanmukha* is thus, according to Shri. Sankaracarya, above all karma and has no duty for his own sake and yet he not only admits the possibility of his working for the spiritual uplift of man but even enjoins it at times as his duty though he does not make it compulsory for every such person without exception. The oft-debated question regarding the relation of Self-knowledge and Karma in Shri Sankaracarya's philosophy seems to boil down to this that according to him, only individualistic or egoistic action-karma-grounded in Avidya, is opposed to self-knowledge. He does not suggest that the rise of that knowledge renders him incapable of activity of anykind. He seems, however, due to give consideration and respect to the fact of a difference in the mystics, referred to at the beginning, the same being due to a difference in their temperaments. The active mystics, like Shri. Sankaracarya engage in a kind of spiritual altruism only till their own Prarabdha is exhausted and they are finally merged into the Infinite till the end of time.

The purpose of Shri Sankaracarya'a life, works and teaching is, in one word, *Self-realisation.* It is unrestricted by any barriers of caste, creed or religion, sex or social status. It is the first right and first *duty* of every human being to strive its utmost to attain it. It is the real end of all human endeavour, the true and final solution to all his problems and the crowning achievement of his life, devoutly to be wished and worked for.

(N. B. The words God and Brahman have been used as synonymns.)

# LIFE OF SHRI ADI SHANKARACHARYA

(A fresh version) - Contd. from the previous issue

Dr. W. R. Antarkar, M. A., LL.B., Ph. D., Bombay

## II

WHEN Shankara was left alone in that lonely place, longing for a Guru, he saw a mystic Guru in human form, holding in his four hands a rosary of pearks, pitcher of nectar, a sacred book and Chinmudra and seated on a stately tabernacle at the foot of a banyan tree on one of the peaks of Kailasa and surrounded by holy and hoary sages like Vasistha, Vamadeva, Badarayana, Suka , Goudapada and others, seated like disciples. Sankara approached this new Guru and praised Him in his famous Dakshinamurti hymn, he composed at the time. Then, at the intercession of Sukamuni on his behalf, the Divine Teacher received him as a disciple and asked his attendants to prepare him for initiation into Adhyatma-Sannyasa. When accordingly he was so made ready by bathing him in the waters of the Ganges and smearing him with ashes, and he had once more renounced all worldly desires, he was presented to Him composed a hymn called Para-puja which he offered by way of worship. Then thee Divine Teacher intiated him into the four Mahavakyas and presented to him the Sacred book, which was found to be the same as his own commentary on the Brahma Sutra. Thereafter the Divine Teacher took Sankara to Mahakilasa where Sankara beheld Lord Siva in all His divine glory and composed two hymns in praise of the same. Sankara was now declared a Jivan-mukta and ordered by Him to go forth as a Paramahamsa parivrajakacharya. He was also blessed with a long life and sound health [6]

After taking his blessings. Sankara returned to the hermitage of Badarayana, where he found his companion Vishnusar man as Chituskha, who was waiting for him all the time since the

[6] Every person is not intended to work for the unlift of others. Particularly in the spiritual field only those who have the divine sanction behind them are successful in leading people on a large scale to God. God or the Guru keeps behind his chosen person his great strength, which is essential for the purpose. The ordinary person should be content with doing the duty according to his station in life and while doing so should try to keep his mind attached to God. This is really the message left for us by these great souls and we should act as they have asked us to and not as they acted.

disappearance of the three sages and Sankara and to whom Sankara recounted all his adventures on Kailasa and Mahakailasa.

Then at his instance, Sankara initiated him into Sannyasa, after composing for him two works, and renamed him Chitsukha. At the time initiation also Sankara composed Mahavakya vivarana. Before going to Benaras, for which he was now very anxious, Sankara went with his first disciple Chitsukha to see and pay his respects to Govindamuni who was overjoyed to hear his adventures on Kailasa and Mahakailasa. He also bade Sankara go to Kasi and spread his Advaita philosophy.

Just as the two were ready to go to Benares, Agnisaiman a relative of Sankara, came with bags of gold and jewels from his mother and told Sankara that his mother and told Sankara that his mother was very ill and desired to see him. Sankara immediately changed all his plans and dedicated all the money to Lord Narayana for reconstruction and rennovation of the ancient Visnu temple at Badarik asrama and setting up therein the image of Lord Vishnu he had obtained from the river Alakananda after diving into it ten times. After the consecration-ceremony was over, he placed Agnisaraman in charge of the temple and then with Chitsukha came to Kalati. Before he left Sankara had also created a hotwater lake just below the shrine of the Badarinatha temple for his aged Guru Givindaamuni to bathe in every day in those cold regions of the Himalayas.

When Sankara came home along with Chitsukha, he found his mother grown extermely weak but still able to walk about in the house. Both were delighted to see each other and Sankara after touching her feet in reverence, embraced her with all filial affection. One day, being very ill, she requested Sankara to discourse to her on things that would bring to her peace of mind. He explained to her through Tatvabodha, his philosophy of Advaita, in the simplest language possible. She, however, found that too beyond her intellectual capacity and asked him to sing a hymn to Lord Krishna whom she had worshipped all her life. Sankara, therefore, composed a beautiful hymn (Krishnastaka) to Lord Krishna, at the end of which Lord Krishna appeared before her in his Divine form. The mother was filled with joy to behold the form and felt extremely happy and blessing her son in his grand undertaking, gave up her body like a yogin. In keeping with his promise at the time of renunciation, he performed her funeral rites himself in the backyard of his own house, in accordance with an ancient custom of Keraliya brahmins. At the time of setting fire to the pyre, he composed a small hymn in praise of his mother, which (hymn) is replace with very delicate filial feeling.

In the meantime, a young brahmin boy named Sanandana [7] came to Kalati and informed Sankara that Govindamuni was seriously ill at Amarakanta on the banks of the Narmada and desired to see him before his death. Sankara therefore immediately left for the place and arrived at it in one monthâs time. Govindamuni lay unconscious on his bed, surrounded by his disciples watching his last moments. Immediately, however, he heard Sankaraâs voice he recovered consciousness, and sat up in his bed and embraced Sankara. He then exhorted him to undertake a Digvijaya-Yatra throughout India and propagate his philosophy and instructed his disciples to follow Sankara as their master. He then imparted to him the last lesson regarding duties of a sannyasin (Turiyasrama Dharmopadesa)

blessed Sankara again and with Om as the last syllable of his lips, quietly passed away. It was Kartika Purnima, Thursday, 4 9 5 B.C. When Emperor Harsa Vikramaditya of Ujjain heard of his fatherâs death, he repaired to the place where his fatherâs body was interred by his disciples and in memory of the last word Om uttered by him, caused to be built the temple of Omkaranatha over his Samadhi.

Immediately after Govindamuniâs passing away, Sankara, as previously promsied, initiated Sanandana into the order of Sannyasins and taught him the essence of philosphy by composing Atmabodha for the purpose. Sanadana wrote a commentary Vedantasara on this Atmabodha. From this place, Sankara started on his triumphant tour.

With Chitsukha, Sananda and others, Sankara came to Prayaga, where on Maghi-Amavasya day, he bathed at Triveni and gave offering to his mother and Guru. Then visiting some sacred spots, he came and settled down at Bharadvajaâs asarama. At this time, he composed hymns like prayagastaka, yamunastaka etc. At this place, Sankara started propounding his philosophy contained in his various commentaries. He soon became famed for his Vedantic learning and srudents from different parts of India began to come to him for instuction. In the morning he went with his disciples for bath at Triveni. After the morning duties, he went back to the asrama and propounded his philosophy. In the afternoon, he held discussions with his disciples, answering their questions and clearing their doubts.

One day, Sankara, with his disciples, went to see the Aksaya-Vata, when he saw a young Brahimn, affected by leprosy all over his body, trying to end his life. On seeing Sankara, he appealed to him for mercy. Sankara was moved by his sight and by touching him, cured him completely. He turned into a hansome young man and people exclaimed âUdakaâ (mnzr% vṆd% ;L; l%) free from marks of leprosy) which was the name he was called by thenceforward. Then Sankara at his instance, initiated him into the mystereies of Vedanta philosophy and made him a Sannyasin and his disciple.

Another day, Sankara had been to Pratisthana-puri (modern Jhansi) where lived the famous Mimamasaka, Prabhakara. Hearing of Sankaraâs arrival, he went to see him and to convert him to his

---

[7] Sanandana was the son of a brahmin pair Madhava and Lakshmi, belonging to a learned and a rich family and living at Ahobila, famous for the temple of Lord Narimha. The parents died early and he was brought up by his maternal uncle Divakaradhvarin, a disciple of the famous Mimamsaka, Prabhakarabhatta. He was married to his uncle's daughter but could not get on with either and set out in search of a Guru. He came to prayaga where he came across Prabhakara himself who could not, however, satisfy him. Then Lord Narsimha directed him to Shri Shankaracharya. He, therefore, went to Badarikashrama to see him, only to learn from Shri Govindamuni that he had gone to Kalati. He then came to Kalati alone to see Shri Shankaracharya, who on learning his history, promised to teach him Vedanta philosophy and to initiate him into Sannyasa after he had seen Shri Govindamuni.

[8] This is Chitsukha's version of the famous Omkaresvara Mandir on the banks of the Narmada, which is, at present, regarded as one of the 12 Jyotirlingas. The actual spot, as at present visible to the eyes, appears more like a samadhi than like a Lingam.

own view, according to which, performance of Karmans Viz. sacrifices, was the sole objective of human life. Sankara, however, argued with him calmly for a few hours and convinced him of the superiority of spiritual knowledge and that performanceof Karmans brought about purification of the mind, which gave rise to Para-bhakti, which in its turn resulted in the realisation of the identity of the self with Brahman and that that alone was the way to liberation. With Prabhakaraâs conversion, the entire agrahara, consisting of about 2000 followers of prabhakara, was conerted to Sankaraâs faith.

This Prabhakara had a son called Prithvidhava (or âdharaâ) who had suddenly stopped talking from his fifth year, and would neither eat nor play. Prabhakara had tried all methods to cure him but without success. He now fell at Sankaraâs feet and requested him to cure his boy. When the boy was brought to him, Sankara by his very first glance at him realised that he was a self-realised person-a-born Siddha. Sankara placed his hand on his head and asked him who he was. To the surprise of all present, he answered the question in 12 stanzas, which since then, have become immortal as Hastamalaka stotra. The boy then got himself initiated into Sannyasa by Sankara who named him Hastamalaka. Prabhakara, who was witnessing all this, requested Sankara to make him also a Sannyasin and initiate him into the mysteries of Vedanta philosophy. Sankara composed rRoks insâk (Tattvopadesa) and taught it to Prabhakara, who renounced the world and destroying all his works on Purvamimamsa of which he now felt ashamed, followed Sankara as his disciple. After his conversion, only one disciple of Prabhakara, called Salikantha stuck to the Gurumata and wrote a work called prakaran-panchika. Sankara, after this incident,went back to his asrama, with his old and new disciples.

Yet another day, Sankara was going to Kausambi, when he saw a pair of old brahmin parents, mourning over their dead son, kept in front of them. Sankara pitied them and wished to help them out og their misery. Just then, an aerial voice broke out saying that compassion, whcih did not have the power to remove misery was useless. Sankara immediately replied that God alone could show such compassion and if He but willed, the boy would arise. To the surprise of the parents the boy arose as from sleep. All the people who witnessed it were full of happiness and soon the whole city Kausambi became a scene of bliss.

Sometime after this incident, just as Sankara was resting, in the morning one day, with his disciples on the holy banks of Triveni, under the shade of a Tamala-tree, news was brought to him that Kumarila, the great champion of purva-Mimamsa was about to commit himself to flames in secluded part of a village near Ruddhapur, probably one of the suburbs attached to Prayaga. Sankara hastened to the spot but only to find him already lying on a funeral pyre, made up of heaps of chaff (Tusanala) surrounded by Brahmins, chanting vedic Mantras appropriate for a Vedic prayachitta which Bhatta Kumarila was bent upon carrying out at any cost. Then, perhaps in reply to Sankaraâs query, Bhatta gave him the following account of him self.

After the training in the Gurukula along with other brahmin boys he came out with all the Sastric knowledge and Vedic culture available at the then seats of learning. Further, he made a special study of the science of Purva Mimamasa-Sutra and wrote an exhaustive gloss on Sanaraâs commentary, advicating therein the path of sacrificial rites, to the exclusion of the path of knowledge.

The Jains, at the time, who were highly critical of the Vedic religion were growing from strength to strength. He wanted to check their success but could not.

They admitted no brahmin into their fold. Hence, he disguised himself as a jain monk and gothimself enrolled as a disciple of Vardamana Mahavira, the new leader of the jains. Under Mahavira, he learnt all their religion and philosophy and was treated by Maha. with special favour. The other disciples therefore hated him. One day, Mahavir ridiculed the Vedic religion and Vedic Gods a little too much with the result that Kumarila shed tears. His colleagues noticed this and cautiously brought i tto the notice of Maha., who now suspected him to be a brahmin heretic. He then conspired with his disciples to make short work of Kumarila, to prevent him going out with their secrets. One day, therefore, as Kumarila was resting in the moonlight the disciples took him to their Guruâs terrace, where Maha. was enjoying rest. The disciples kept chit-chatting and playing for some time and then getting a hint from their Guru, managed to throw Kumarila out of the terrace. Kumarila remembered his Vedas and just said to himself : ãIf the Vedas are true revelations, they will save me from death. ãHe came down unhurt except some injury to his eyes, due to their coming into contact with some hard object. Anyhow he escaped and ever since, became an uncompromising opponent of Maha. he launched a regular crusade against the Jains and drove them from court to court, with the help of kings like Sudhanvan of Dvaraka, whom he converted to the to the country to the Vedic religion, which he preached from one end of the country to the other. During the contests with the jains, he managed to have the heads of jains cut off by their own oaths.

At the end of all his career, however, he began to feel very strongly that he had been guilty of the great sin of Guru-droha and considering that self-immolation in fire was the only way to alone for it, he was doing the same now.

# THE PLACE OF SANKARA'S FINAL DISAPPEARANCE

W.R. ANTARKAR

The place where exactly Śaṅkara (san.) laid down his body is a very controversial point and is still not finally decided, in the biography of Śaṅ, It has also a peculiar bearing upon another very controversial topic, viz. the establishment or otherwise of a fifth maṭha by Śaṅ at Kāñcī, presumably for himself, the other four mathas being for his four principal disciples, who are said to have been placed in charge of the same.

Three places have been put forward as the venue of Śaṅ's final resting place and they are 1) Vṛṣacala in Kerala 2) Kāñcī and 3) Himālayas or the Himalayan region or Kedaranatha.

Out of these, the first i. e. Kerala (Vṛṣacala) has been favoured by two biographies only, viz. Śaṅkarācārya Carila (Ś.Ca.) of Govindanātha (Gov.) and Kūṣmaṇḍa Śaṅkara Vijaya (Kūs. Ś. V.) of Puruṣottama Bharati (Puru. Bha.) out of the 17 biographies of Śaṅkarācārya (i. e. Ś. V.' s) available and with me today. Except for just one or two stanzas[1] giving this version in the second of the two works, this is almost a solitary version and no biographer, not even Gov. or Puru. Bhā. refers to Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Vṛṣacala at any time. Gov. was a Keralite and his work also is alternatively, called K. Ś. V. It has been remarked that this has prompted him to bring Śaṅkarācārya to Kerala for his final exit from this world.[2] In the absence of any personal information about Puru. Bhā. nothing can be said about his sudden preference in one stanza only.

There is also an internal contradiction in Gov.'s version. All antecedents of Śaṅkara as described in his work are Śaivite, Vṛṣācala also being a Saiva Shrine and yet Śaṅkarācārya is said to praise Viṣṇu on Vṛṣācala and then to become one with Viṣṇu's bliss. Puru. Bhā. otherwise agrees with Gov.'s version but aftor saying that Śaṅkarācārya composed Haristuti, he says thai he went to the abode of Siva,[3]. All these points lender this version untenable. The contest, therefore lies between Kāñcī and the Himālayan region or Kedāranātha.

Out of the remaining 15 Śaṅkarā Vijayas, three works, viz. Śaṅkarābhyudaya —Śaṅkara Daya) of Tirumala Dixit (Tiru. D.), Śaṅkaracarya (Śaṅkara ya.) Mahimā of Bala Gopala Yati and Acārya Vijaya or Acārya Vijayākhyāna of Parameśvara Kavi Kanthirava (Param. Kavi) are incomplete and do not contain the account of Śaṅkara's passing away. Śaṅkara Vijaya of Vyāsācala (Vyā.), as at present available in print, is doubtful on this point as it does not say anything clearly about . Śaṅkara's end. More about this Śaṅkara Vijaya of Vyā. will be said a little later.

About 4 works, viz. Śaṅkara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri (Anantā), Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya (Bṛ. Ś. V.) of Brahmānanda Sarasvati (Brahma. Saras.), Śaṅkara Daya of Rājacūdāmani Dixit

(Rāja. D.), and presumably Acārya Digvijaya Campū of Valli-sahāya (Valli) describe Śaṅkara's end at Kāñcī. Valli is not explicit about Kāñcī but he generally follows Anantā's Śaṅ.V. and all his description in the 5th and the final chapters. of his work refers to Kāñcī and hence he can be inferred to have placed Śaṅkara's end at Kāñcī only. In addition to this, Suṣama, a commentary on Guru-ratna-malika (G. R. M.) quotes from Bṛ. Ś. V. of Citsukha (Cit.) and Prācina Śaṅkara Vijaya (Pr. Ś. V.) of Anandagiri (Ananda) to the same effect and Mr. T. S. Nārāyana (Nārā.) Śāstri, on the basis of the same works, which he says were in his possession, confirms Suṣama.

Lastly, seven works, viz. Śaṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya (S.Ś. Jaya) of Mādhava (Mād.), Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra (Śaṅ. Dig. sara) of Sadananda (Sada.), Sankara Vijaya Vilasa (S.V.V.) of Cidvilasa (Cid.), Bhagavat padabhyudaya (Bhag. Daya) of Lakṣmana Śastri Guru Vaṁśa Kavya (G.V.K.) of Kavi Lakṣmana Sūrin and Śaṅkara Mandāra Saurabha (Ś.M.S.) and Śaṅkara Daya, both by Nilakaṇtha (Nila.) describe Śaṅkara's passing away in the Himālayan region at Kedāra or Kailāsa or the cave or hermitage of Dattātreya (Dattā.)

Generally, Śaṅkara's end is described after the incident of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña Pitha but while in the Kāñcī version, hardly any major incident takes place between the two, in the Himālaya version, the two are separated by Śaṅkara's visit to a number of places right upto Rameśvara, Kāñcī and so on, before he reaches the Himālaya and passes away there only. G. V. K. is the only biography to describe his visit to Nepal before his passing away. After Pithārohana and before going to Nepal,[4] Śaṅkara is said by G. V. K. to have gone from Kāśmira to Sṛṅgeri, Kāñcī, Badarivana, Kāśī and Badarivana again. Cid. only describes the Pithārohana much earlier in Śaṅkara's life, to be followed by Śaṅkara's going to a number of places thereafter, establishing the mathas, the Kāpālika incident and finally the establishment of a matha in the Badarivana, with Totaka in charge of the same. Br. Saras also describes Śaṅkara's triumphant tour (Digvijayayātrā) between his Sarvajña pithārohaṇa and passing away, both these incidents being located at Kāñcī only.

Regarding the Himālaya version, we find that it falls into two groups viz. 1) G. V. K. and S V. Vilāsa of Cid., who connect Śaṅkara's passing away with the cave or hermitage of Dattatreya in the Himālayas and 2) the works of Mād. (S., Ś. Jaya), Sadā (S. D. Sāra), Nila. (S. M. S. and Śaṅkara Daya) and Lakṣmana Śāstri (Bhg. Daya) connect it with Kailāsa. In both these groups, there are internal variations each, in addition to the variation between the two groups themselves. All these variations can be stated as follows:

According to G. V. K., Śaṅkara desired to see Dattatreya and hence went to his Āśraṁa. There, he gave up his Daṇḍa and Kamaṇḍalu, which were transformed into a tree and a tirtha. Then, he entered the Asrama, where he stayed with Datta for a long time i. e. never to return. Śaṅkara had given up his house, all his disciples and books already and Datta gave blessings to Viśvarūpa (Viśva.) and others.

According to Cid, Dattatreya came to see Śaṅkara who showed him his own Bhāṣyas. Dattātreya was pleased with the Bhāṣyas and then asked him to leave his body. Then, both Dattatreya and Śaṅkara entered the former's cave and then, in due course, went to Kailāsa, along with parvati and son Kārtikeya.

The difference between G. V.K. and Cid. with regard to the interval between Śaṅkara's Pitharohana and his passing away and then the actual end of Śaṅkara's life, is quite obvious and does not need to be pointed out specifically. Cid. can be said to agree partially with the second group, that Śaṅkara finally went back to Kailāsa as Lord Śiva.

According to Mād. and others, Śaṅkara went to the Pithārohana (Sada. takes him from Kāśmīra to Sṛṅgeri and Badarivana before actually coming to the Himalayas), where gods came to him and urged, him to return to his divine abode as he had finished his work on earth. Śaṅkara agreed and assuming his divine form alongwith the third eye, mounted his ox and alongwith the gods, went, back to his abode Kailāsa. According to Nila., who belongs to this group Śaṅkara actually passed away at Kedāra Kṣetra only.

Once again, it is clear that apar from the two points of internal difference, viz. the interval between Śaṅkara's Pithārohana and the actual end as per Sadā and the actual place of Śaṅkara's laying down his body as per Nila., the difference between the accounts of the two groups also in the Himālaya version is quite obvious. The difference between the accounts of G.V.K and S-Ś. Jaya of Mād. is particularly noticeable in that both the works are avowedly pro-Sṛṅgeri (Sṛṅ.) and hence were expected to be in agreement mutually.

A few words neel to be said about Kedāranatha in the Himalayas as the exact place where Śaṅkara laid down his body or from where he disappeared finally.

Nila.'s statement in this regard has been noted already. Mr. Sarma quotes views of Atkinson Gazetter ( 1882-83 A.D.) and Dwaraka Swamiji i. e. Śaṅkaracārya (Śaṅ.ya), to the effect that the disappearance of Śaṅkara at Kedāranātha itself beyond doubt.[5] It has also been said that people there show the place of Śaṅkara's disappearance and visitors are asked to offer worship there.

Vidyānanda Sarasvati, (Gitā Satsang, Kedāranātha Kṣetra), says that he has made special research into the history of Uttarakhaṇḍa from 8th Cent. onwards and that all sources like Govt. records and other authentic sources corroborate admirably to establish that Śaṅkara shed his mortal coil and attained immortality at Kedāranātha itself. The Govt. records and folk songs reiterate the incident as a hallowed and cherished memory and history establishes the position of Kedāranātha as the place where Śaṅkara attained final beatitude. The most convincing and unchanllengeable fact according to Vidyānanda Sarasvati (Vidyaā Saras.) is that at Kedāranātha

itself, there is an old structure, which has been there for centuries and to the present day is regarded as the samadhi of Adi Śaṅkara.[6]

Mr. Sarma quotes extensively from a speech of Dr. Sampurnananda (in 1956)[7] who in effect, maintains the above view that Śaṅkara passed away at Kedāranātha itself and that the samadhi structure should either be renovated replaced by a new one. Mr. R. K. Iyer, however, quotes the same person to say that the structure shown at Kedāranātha is not a samādhi of Śaṅkara but only a memorial.[8]

Moreover, the idea of a samādhi at Kedāranātha runs counter to Mr. Iyer's statement that 'true devotees of Śaṅkara are reluctant to admit that he left his physical body behind for any ceremonies being performed for it.[9] Perhaps, that is why he himself does not favour the idea of a samādhi at Kedāranātha and hence also the second statement of Dr. Sampurnananda above, quoted by him. He has not specified who, beside himself, these 'true devotees' are. Similarly, the reluctance of Śaṅkara's devotees is utterly incomprehensible when it is a very natural thing in the case of great persons like Śaṅkara.

Thus, we find that there is no unanimity at all about the place or mode of Śaṅkara's passing away in the Himālaya. version. If some people say that Kedāranātha is the exact place where Śaṅkara passed away, others say that he went to Kailasa in his human form,[10] still others hold that he assumed his signs of Lord Śiva and mounting the Bull, went to his own abode, viz. Kailāsa while yet others say either that he entered the cave of Dattatreya. never to return therefrom or after entering the cave, went to Kailāsa in due course. Even G. V. K. and S. Ś. Jaya of Mād., both authoritative books of Ihe Sṛṅ. Matha give altogether different accounts mutually. Even Mr. R. G. Sarma admits the existence of such a variety of views.[11] All this shows utter lack of reliable or definite information and uncertainty about the exact place and/or mode of Śaṅkara's passing away.

Secondly, we find that the accounts of Śaṅkara's passing away in this version are very much overlaid with the element of the supernatural and as such, sound unrealistic while those of his end at Kāñcī are much more natural and hence more believable and acceptable comparatively.

Thirdly, Swami Sakhyananda from Trichur says very clearly that it was AbhinavaSaṅkara, the 37th head of the Kāñcī Matha, who disappeared in the Dattatreya cave in the Himālayas and he has also written to me to say that he has gleaned this and some other information also about him from a book called 'Sankarendra Vilasa' by. Vakpati Bhaṭṭa, which was seen and read by him about 40 years ago[12] (he wrote to me to this effect in 1988),

By elimination, Kanci alone remains as the possible/probable place where Śaṅkara passed away. I have indicated already which of the S.V. s support this view. Before dealing with them, it

is necessary to examine certain stanzas quoted as from the S. V. s. of Govindanātha and Vyāsācala, in support of this same view and then to examine the criticism of persons like Mr, R, G. Sarma and Mr. R. K. Iyer[13] and some passages which are claimed to support the Kāñci version.

1) Suṣama, a commentary on G. R. M., one of the authorities of the Kāñcī matha, quotes certain stanzas as from Gov's Ś. ca. or K. S. V. 1 4 which say clearly that Śaṅkara placed Sarvajñātman in charge of Sri Sarada Maṭha at Kāñcī and himself passed away at Kāñcī only, in the vicinity of Goddess Kāmāksī.

This passage is open to the following objections:,

a) This statememnt contradicts the version of Gov.'s work that Śaṅkara passed away at Trichur.

b) This work of Gov. makes no mention of the. establishment of any Matha by Śaṅkara at any place in India. The reference to sarada Matha at Kāñcī only sounds out of place.

c) None of the stanzas quoted in Suṣama as from Gov:s Ś. ca, is to be found in any of the seven copies of this work I have gone through so far and which are in my possession.[15]

For these reasons, this reference to Kāñcī as the place of Śaṅkara's passing away does not appear to be genuine.

2) Secondly, we have the stanza from Vyā.'s Ś-V. viz. Evaṁ niruttara-padaṁ ruciradeśamayaṁ jagāma (XII : 8 2). It tells us that after asending the Sarvajña pitha and being honoured by all the people there, Śaṅkara went to some pleasant region.

The oditor of Vya.'s work notes in the Introduction (p, XV) thereto 5 additional stanzas supplied to him as from the same S. V. of Vyā. The first only of these 5 stanzas has been printed in the book and is the same as XII-8 2 except for two variants. viz. Maṭhe Svakḷpte in place of nananda sabhya in the second line and Kamapi kālamuvāsa Kañcyam in place of rucira-deśamayaṁ jagāma in the 4th line. The stanza then means that 'having ...ascended the sarvajñapitha in his own Matha (at Kāñcī) ... he stayed at Kāñcī for some time: The third out of 5 additional stanzas says clearly that Śaṅkara laid down his body at Kāñcī only.

These 5 stanzas also are open td the following objections :

a) This Ś.V. of Vyā. contains no reference whatsoever, earlier or later, to the establishment by Śaṅkara of any Matha at any place in India, including Kāñcī. The words Mathe sva-kḷpte are, therefore, left hanging and out of place and do not sound genuine.

b) This Ś.V. otherwise describes the incident of Piṭharohana as having taken place at Kashmir and that, immediately thereafter, Śaṅkara should be said to have ascended the sarvajña-pitha in his own Matha (of course, at Kāñci) and then to have spent sometime at Kāñcī is quite inconsistent with the earlier version. The words kamapi kālam seem to presume that Śaṅkara was in Kāñcī prior to that, which is not true, as per the earlier version.

It is sadly significant that these additional stanzas as also the ones attributed to Gov.'s work, discussed earlier, should emanate from Suṣama of the Kāñcī Matha and that all these stanzas, almost without an exception, should not be traceable to 7 and 6 mss. respectively of the two works, available for inspection today.

Once again, theref.ore San.'s passing away at Kāñcī cannot be accepted on the basis of vyā's Ś.V.

Now about the other passages which seem to support the Kāñcī version and their criticism by the opponents of the same.

1) Firstly, Siva Rahasya, an old Puranic work, while giving in one chapter (Aṁśa 9, ch. 16) a kind of a summary of Śaṅkara's life, says in the last stanza (St. 46) thereof that after overcoming in debate the various scholars, Śaṅkara attained siddhi in Kāñcī in his own Asrama[16] i. e. he laid down his body there.

Mr. K. Sundaramaih objects to this interpretation on the following grounds:

a) According to him, the stanza has been misquoted by Suṣamā deliberately by altering sa kāmam to svakāśrame and Tato naijamavāpa lokam to sa kāñcyāmatha siddhimāpa. 'Because the (Kāñcī) Matha wanted to create an impression in the popular mind that 'He' (i.e. Śaṅkara) passed away at Kāñcī itself.'[17] According to him, naijamavāpa lokam does not refer to Śaṅkara's passing away. He, however, says that 'even adopting the reading as siddhi scholars would not give the narrow meaning to that word.' He quotes Bhaṭṭa Śri Nārāyana Śāstry, who says that the word siddhi does not denote mokṣa for want of authority but accomplishment of desires only (by Śaṅkara) Even Mr. Sarma argues similarly that the word siddhi means tapassiddhi and not tanutyāga (laying down of the body).[19]

b) Secondly, according to Mr. Sundaramaih and Mr. Sarma also, the 16th chapter under consideration of Śiva Rahasya does not end with St. 46 only but contains 13 stanzas more, beginning with kāñcyaṁ tapah-siddhimavāpya dandi (st. 47) and ending with prananama maheśvaram (st. 59). These stanzas contain the main incidents in Śaṅkara's life like his writing the Bhaṣyas, meeting with Vyasa, Śaṅkara Maṇḍana encounter and so on, without a mention of which no account of Śaṅkara's

life would be complete and hence the critics maintain that this is the correct version of ch. 16 of Śiva Rahasya. If so, St. 46 cannot be taken to refer to Śaṅkara's final departure, which according to St. 57 took place at Kailāsa. Their contention is that the supporters of the Kāñci version have deliberately omitted these 13 stanzas for obvious reasons.

It is not possible to agree with the critics on any point of their criticism.

My reasons are :

Regarding the me.aning of the word Siddhi as tapassiddhi, Śaṅkara is not said by any work (Including Śiva Rahasya) anywhere to have practised any kind of penance (tapas) at any time, of which any siddhi could have been expected and hence it is quite out of place to argue that even if the Suḷama reading in the second half of the stanza were accepted, Siddhi means Tapassiddhi and not tanutyaga. Moreover, to maintain, as Ś. Rah. does and as even these critics do, that Śaṅkara was Lord Śiva incarnate and yet to say that his attaining siddhi only means that he attained tapassiddhi (just like a mortal being) is at least to my mind, self contradictory. I, therefore, feel that if this reading is accepted as the correct one, the conclusion is inescapable that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñci only, at least according to Ś. Rah.

Regarding the number of stanzas, we have to note the following points :

a) Even if we accept the reading naijamavapa lokam of Kāñcyāmatha siddhimāpa no one, Sundaramiah, Mr. Sarma or Mr. Iyer, says (clearly) what the expression, actually and or really means, possibly because it is inconvenient for them to do so. It, however, seems to refer clearly to Śaṅkara's final passing away because Śaṅkara has been equated by Ś. Rah. with Lord Śiva himself and as such, his own Loka obviously means his own divine abode. Mr. Iyer and Mr. Sarma note a still variant reading viz. Lokamavāpa Śaivam which is still clearer about the meaning of the same.[20]

All this shows that whichever reading is accepted, the conclusion is inescapable that Ś. Rah. wants to convey the idea of Śaṅkara's passing away only. His going back to his own abode, i.e. Śiva-loka has, of course, to be taken symbolically. If this is so, the account of Śaṅkara's life must be taken to have concluded with St. 46 (or 47) only.

A description of other incidents in Śaṅkara's life, however relevant or necessary they may seem otherwise, is inconsistent with the text of the Ś. Rah. The subsequent 13 stanzas must, therefore, be taken to have been addad afterwards by some person. Curiously enough, that person chose to begin the very first out of the (13) additional stanzas with the expression काञ्च्यां तप:सिद्धिमवाप्य whereby he tried to insert his own interpretation of the word 'siddhi' as tapassiddhi

but in the process, inadvertantly left evidence behind of how the immodiately preceding stanza (No.4 6) must have ended, i. e. with the words (मिश्रान्) स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप. And with the meaning of this expression shown to be what it is, at least Ś. Rah. must be taken to support the Kāñcī version only of Śaṅkara's passing away.

Moreover, even while mentioning the other incidents, the 1 3 additional staznas describe Śaṅkara's encounter with Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, Nilakaṇtha and others (which is a historical. anachronism) and at the same time, they omit very important events in Śaṅkara's life like his meeting with Kumarila, Gauḍapada, Govinda Muni, the crocodile incident, his mother's passing away, his acquisition of his main disciples and their writing their own works and any explicit reference to the establishment of the principal Mathas except the one at Sṛṅgeri and a very casual reference to the Mathas in the 4 directions ( calurdiksu mathṣu) while addressing his disciples at the time of laying down his body. If Śaṅkara's life-account is not complete without a mention of the incidents described in the additional stanzas, how is it complete without those that have been omitted therein?

Then, again, these 1 3 stanzas contain a repetition of Śaṅkara's encounter with Vānī-wife of Maṇḍana (w. 4 8 & 4 9) once after the latter's defeat by Śaṅkara and then again at the time of Śaṅkara 's ascending the sarvajnapithā. All the Ś. Vs describe this encounter betweenŚaṅkara and Vānī varyingly on either of the two occasions omy and never on both the occasions. Mr. Iyer points out this fact as a kind of a speciality of these 1 3 stanzas[21] but the repetition only serves to show that the genuineness of the stanzas is obviously suspect.

Lastly, Achyutaraya Modak, while commenting (in his commentary Advaita-Rājya-Lakṣmi on S.S. Jaya of Mād. XVI. 1 0 3) quotes this chapter in full from Ś. Rah. but upto St. 4 6 only and that also ending with the reading Sa kāñcyāmatha siddhimāpa which shows that according to him also, Śiva Rahasya shows Śaṅkara's end at Kāñcī only. It further shows how and where the chapter ends and does not favour the idea of 1 3 additional stanzas after St. 4 6 as part of the same chapter. It is really surprising that Modak quotes from Ś. Rah. favouring the Kāñcī version while commenting on a work which explicitly favours the Himalaya version. Modak also remarks that all this story (kathājāla) should be studied from the Bṛ. Ś. V. of Ananda,[22] by which he again suggests that that work also favours the Kāñcī version only.

Mr. Sarma's criticism of both these points (the number of stanzas and the ending of Ch. XVI) is not at all convincing. He complains that,the commentary (i.e. Modak) does not try to reconcile the two conflicting statements of S. S. Jaya, which cleaIly points to Kailāsa or Kedāra as the place of Śaṅkara's passing away and Ś. Rah. which, he aqmits, shows Kāñcī as the place of his passing away nor does he say clearly that Kāñcī that place.[23] It can, however, be said with good justification that by quoting the Śiva Rahasya passage which, according to Mr. Sarma also

points to Kāñcī as the place of passing away, Modak has shown his inclination towards the Kāñcī version though he may not have said so in so many words.

Secondly, Mr. Sarma argues that Modak's quoting the chapter upto St. 46 only does not justify the inference that he also held that the chapter contained no more stanzas after St. 46 bec.ause he has quoted these stanzas in the course of supporting the view that Śaṅkara was an Aṁśa (Part) of God. Modak's object was only to bring these stanzas to light and not to prove the validity of their contents.[24] All this criticism is simply incomprehensible. If there were in Modak's mind any element of doubt about the validity of the contents of these additional stanzas, how can they be said to have been cited by him to support any view ?

Thirdly, Mr. Sarma's very idea of reconciliation presupposes that according to Modak, the word siddhi meant tanutyūga only and not tapassiddhi and Mr. Sarma himself also says in so many words, that the expression Kāñcī 'imaṭha siddhimapa denotes Kāñcī as the place of Śaṅkara's passing away and thereby contradicts his own stand elsewhere in the same book that siddhi means tapassiddhi and not tanutyūga.

Fourthly, if the above expression meant, according to Modak, Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī, he would have contradicted himself by quoting the additional stanzas which describe clearly Śaṅkara's end in the Himālayas. It is, therefore, obvious that he did not give those additional stanzas only because they did not exist there, at least according to him and not for any other reason, as imagined by Mr. Sarma.

Lastly, if st. 46 ends with Sari.'s passing away, there is no propriety in recounting thereafter only some of the many incidents in his life. The same argument applies even with much greater force to the other two variant readings lokamavāpa śaivam and naijamavāpa lokam which unmistakably point to Śaṅkara's passing away.

Mr Sarma has cited 12 copies of the above chapter XVI from Siva Rahasya from different places. Six out of these contain 44 to 46 stanzas while the other six contain 59 or 60 stanzas.25 Out of the latter, three are from the Govardhan Matha of Śaṅkara at Puri and appear to represent one source only. I have personally seen at Kumbakonam. 8 copies of the same chapter and all of them ended with 46 stanzas only and with the words sa Kāñcyāmatha siddhimapa.

Mr. Sarma has quoted one chapter (no. 6) as from one work Māṇikya Vijaya26 in support of Ch.XVI of Ś.Rah. with 60 stanzas at the end. The chapter from Māṇikya-Vijaya is just a reproduction of Ch.XVI from Ś. Rah. with slight variants in the intervening portion thereof.

I, therefore, feel that there is no justification for Mr. Sarma's trying to show by some devious reasoning that the total number of stanzas in the chapter (XVI) from Sm̐. Rah. was 60 and not 64 only and that siddhi means tapasiddhi ad not tanutyāga. At least according to Ś.Rah. and Ach, Modak, the total number of stanzas was 46 only and the word siddhi and the expression Kancyam siddhimāpa denote Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī.

I have discussed at length this point pertaining to Ś.Rah. not because I attach any kind of supreme or conclusive importance to Ś.Rah., but firstly because it has been seriously debated by the critics and unjustifiably so, at least according to me and secondly because it provides one more pointer in a particular dirction.

2) Rāja D., in the last stanza and particularlly the second half[27] of his work Ś. Daya, tells us that while worshipping daily goddess Kāmeśvari on the bank of the river Kampā, Śaṅkara attained the bliss of Brahman. Mr. Sarma has made a lot of fuss about the meaning of the expression Brahmānandamavindata in the last quarter of the stanza, saying that it does not mean that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī (tanutyāga).[28] Now, such expressions as per H.H. Śaṅkara Swamiji, the late Mahâsannidhânam (he had citted the expression Kailāsamagamat) have necessarily to be understood symbolically to mean the passing away of the person concerned and no one but a prejudiced person will refuse to accord to the expression brahmānanda etc., the sense of tauntyāga.

Mr. Sarma goes on to say that even if this sense were conceded, it definitely does not mean that Śaṅkara stayed at Kāñcī or that he established an Āmnāya Maṭha at Kāñcī. 29 It appears that all the efforts of critics like Mr. Sarma in denying or refuting Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī are aimed at avoiding a necessary inference that Śaṅkara established such a mutt also at that place. If only the establishment of a Maṭha there eas not contingent upon his tanutyāga there. Mr. Sarma (and others) would not have so insistently resisted Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī. It might at least have been conceded as being plausible. While, however, the work of Rāja D. is not at all intended to suggest or to bear out the establishment by Śaṅkara of Maṭha at Kāñcī, because there is no such reference in the whole work, it is simply not understood how his stay at Kāñcī during the final days of his life could reasonably be precluded or denied while his passing away at Kāñcī is accepted or conceded as being possible.

With regard to this same stanza Mr. R.K. Iyer affirms that it only says that Śaṅkara enjoyed the bliss of Brahman in worshiping the Goddess Kameśvari everyday there. 3 0 The third and the fourth quarters i. e. the second half of the stanza. "Kampafira... Sankarab " can, however, be understood in a much better way and more correctly also to mean that. while worshipping daily the Goddess Kāmeśvari, Śaṅkara attained the bliss of Brahman. 'In simple language, the line means that Śaṅkara passed his last days in worshipping the Goddess Kāmeśvari and while doing so, he passed away there only. Particularly when we find that this is the concluding stanza of the work, which at no other place mentions Śaṅkara passing away and because the stanza comes after the description of all the major incidents in his life, this interpretation becomes more pertinent and plausible. It is to be noted that beyond asserting that the stanza in question cannot mean that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī Mr. Iyer has advnaced no argument to support his

assertion. On the contrary, he has, in his translation of the same, reversed the order of the two points, viz. worshipping the goddess and attaining the bliss of Brahman.

3) The last stanza of Patañjali-Carita by Rama. D. (VIII: 91) ends with the line Kāñcīpure sthitimavāpa sa Śaṅkarāyah. While interpreting this line in particular, Mr. Sarma says that' It seems that Śaṅkara stayed at Kāñcī and not that he passed away at Kāñcī.[31] when the context seems to favour the second meaning. The words sthitimavāpa clearly suggest permanent .stay at Kāñcī and this is also the last stanza, bearing on the life account of Śaṅkara'.

It has been seen a little earlier that this same Mr. Sarma while interpreting the words brahmānandamavindata was just not prepared to concede Śaṅkara's stay at Kāñcī though he might concede his passing away there. This work also does not claim that Śaṅkara established any Matha at Kāñcī. All this shows the manner of Mr. Sarma's general attitude towards the subject and the manner of his criticism. It is left to scholars to decide how far he is dependable as an objective and fair critic.

Mr. R. K. Iyer concedes Śaṅkara's stay at Kāñcī after writing the Bhāṣyas and a successful tour. His only objection is that the stanza seems to mean that Gov. Muni had passed away before the Bhāṣyas were written and in that case, Śaṅkara could not have met him in the Himālayas after completing his own life's mission.[32]

In the first place, no other wliter, except perhaps Citsukha and possibly Anandagiri as per T. S. Nārāyana Śāstri, refers to the passing away of Govinda Muni. And, then, he has passed away long before Śaṅkara completed the mission of his life. There is therefore, no way to find out as to when exactly in the course of Śaṅkara's life he passed away. In fact, even when biographers (Ś. V.s) describe at some length, incidents like his mother's passing away or parakayapraveśa, they differ widely as to the exact stage in Śaṅkara's life at which they took place. As suc,h, it is not useful to discuss the priority or otherwise of Śaṅkara's writing the Bhaṣyas and the passing away of Gov. Muni. Lastly, what logical difficulty or contingency is involved in Gov. Muni's passing away before Śaṅkara had written the Bhaṣyas, even in Śaṅkara's not meeting him in the Himālayas and how all this bears on the meaning of the line in question is not at all clear.

Mr. Iyer refers to Mr. Ramesam's remark that Śaṅkara had darśana of Gov. Muni & Gauḍa. at Kedāranatha.[33] This particular detail however, does not affect the import of the last line in the stanza, viz. that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī and not that he simply stayed there. The important point is what the stanza means and not what other persons say about other things. Both Mr. Sarma and Mr. Iyer appear to try to resist the meaning which the stanza appears to convey even to themselves and in the process, contradict each other.

4) Another piece of evidence in favour if the Kāñcī version is what is known as the Hultzsch Ms. and the Kūdali Sṛṅgeri Guruparamparā-Stotra both of which seem to say very clearly that

Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī. Dr. Hultzsch obtained the ms. from a Maratha Brahmin at Tanjore. Mr. Sarma discusses the ms. at length in respect of its validity as such and then with regard to its contents.[34]. His position with regard to the first is :

Mr. Sarma tells us that he had procured vivaral)a of another ms., many stanzas from which were found in the ms. of Dr. Hultzsch. Mr. Sarma, however, does not give any particulars of this other ms., which he wants in the case of other mss. Yet according to him, this other ms. was the original of Dr. Hultzsch ms. which however, contains many more stanzas,not found in the original ms. According to a research scholar, these stanzas must, for the same reason, have been added to the original ms. quite recently (to constitute the Hultzsch ms.)

Though Mr. Sarma complains that the time of the Hultzsch ms. is not known, he relies upon a ms. about which he has only heard but which he has not seen and upon what the other people say about it. And all this is based upon the hypothesis that the other ms. is the original of the Hultzsch ms. He gives not the slightest evidence nor does he advance any argument for his view except that certain stanzas are common to the two and that the Hultzsch ms. contains some more stanzas than the other ms.

Mr. Sarma says further that another copy of Hultzsch ms. was available with Mr. (Govinda Bhatta) Hirlekar (the correct name is Yerlekar) of Belgaum. This copy, has says, was found to be ancient (prācīna) and appeared to be the source of the stanzas quoted by Dr. Hultzsch. Mr. Sarma feels that possibly, the Maratha brahmin from Tanjore, who supplied the ms. to Dr.Hultzsch, had procured a copy of the work from Mr. Yerlekar.

Mr. K. B. Pathak, who has seen the ms. from Mr. Yerlekar and who brought it to light for the first time, makes no comment about its being ancient. How Mr. Sarma could say so is not clear.

Secondly, why this Belgaum ms. is said by Mr. Sarma to be a copy of the H. ms. is also not clear. If, again, the Belgaum ms. is the source of the H. ms., what about the other ms. referred to earlier, of which Mr. Sarma had obtained a vivarana being the original of the H. ms. ? Also, what are Mr. Sarma's grounds for saying that the Maratha brahmin from Tanjore, who had supplied the ms. to Dr. Hultzsch had procured his copy from Mr. Yerlekar ? He gives none. That both viz. the ms. which Mr. Sarma had procured a vivarana and the one from Mr. Yerlekar, wer.e original i. e. the source of the H. ms. means that the two mss. were one and the same. But Mr. Sarma does not say so.

The foregoing discussion will make it clear that all these as also the previous comments of Mr. Sarma are nothing better than guesswork, at least as far as his book is concerned, with no basis for them except some stanzas common to the two. Mr. Yerlekar's ms. has not been seen by anyone except Mr K. B. Pathak, who also gives no particulars about it except the name of its owner being Mr. Yerlekar from Belgaum. Pursuing the assumption that, this ms. is the basis of

the H. ms., he has tried to belittle the importance of the H. ms. by pointing out how the Belgaum ms. contains statements like Śaṅkara being born from a Kūṣmaṇḍa and so on.

Now we come to the contents of the stanzas in i) H. ms. ii) Kūdali Sṛṅgeri Guruparampar Stotra-mālā and iii) Mr. Yerlekar's ms.[35] as far as Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī is concerned. Mr.Iyer cuts across all considerations about the validity of the H. ms. as such and though he attaches no historical importance to the same, he assumes that it is a genuine document and then discusses its contents. I shall first deal with Mr. Iyer's arguments and then with those of Mr. Sarma, where they are in addition. I am working on i) two pages of H.'s ms. from Ādau Sivastuto Viṣṇuh etc. up to tatah Śaṅkara Bharati ii) a complete copy of Kūdali Sṛṅgeri Gurumālā stotra published by that matha and iii) the article by Mr. K. B. Pathak, which mentions and quotes from Mr. Yerlekar's 3-page ms. certain stanzas relevant to the present inquiry.[36]

According to Mr. Iyer, 'the passage quoted (from the H. ms.) only mentions that Śaṅkara established Goddess Kāmākṣi at Kāñcīand not that he passed away at Kāñci "[37] Thereafter he quotes the rendering of the 5 stanzas from the H. ms. by Mr. Ramesan (who according to Mr. Iyer, seems to suggest thatthe word Svakāśrame therein means Kāñcīmathe) followed by the stanzas themselves, then he gives his own rendering of these stanzas and finally, he tries to show how Ramesan's rendering is defective.

It is true that Ramesan's interpretation of the word svākāśrame as kāñcīmathe is wrong. Actually, it means the matha at (Kūḍali) Sṛṅgeri only, referred to very clearly in the very first of the 5 stanzas. It is also clear from the two lines that follow that Śaṅkara stayed at that Matha only for 1 2 years and then, appointing Pṛthviḍhara as the Vidyapithadhipa there, gave him the title Bharati[38]. After this, Śaṅkara is said to have gone on his own (Svecchayā) to Kāñci, where he established Goddess Kāmakṣi and (then) attained the highest state - Jagāma paramam padam. These are the contents of the first 2 1 / 2 stanzas out of the 5 from the H. ms.

The remaining 2 1 1 2 stanzas from the H. ms. tell us that on hearing that news ( tad vṛttāntaṁ saṁakamya,) Pṛthvidhara Bharati, after appointing Viśvarūpa for the propagation of his Asrama ( Svāsramasya Pracārane ) i.e. the mutt at Kūḍali Srn. himself went quickly to Kāñcī for the perfection of his penance. Now, what could be the news except of Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī that could have motivated Pṛthvidhara to hasten to Kāñci, after making almost final arrangements at K. Srn. ?

The Guru-Mālā puts just the above substance in 3 or 3 1 / 2 stanzas only, with the difference that Viśva was appointed by Pṛthvi. at Kūḍali Sṛṅgeri for the propagation of Brahmavidyā and the addition that after coming to Kāñcī he attained the state of Brahman i. e. passed away there only.

We have just one stanza from Mr. Yerlekar's ms. pertaining to the point at issue, agatya svecchayā kāñcim elc. which is then said by Mr. Pathak to be followed by the names of Śaṅkara's successors. Prior to his coming to Kāñcī, Śaṅkara is said in the ms. to have established his mutt on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, appointed Pṛthvidhara as its head and conferred upon him the title Bharati.[39]

I have quoted at some length from all the three works, only to show that there is one stanza pertaining to Śṛṅ's going from Kūḍali Sṛṅ. to Kāñcī, where he established Goddess Kamākṣi and then attained the - highest state i. e. laid down his body there only, which is common almost verbatim to all the three Works and that it mentions beyond any doubt that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī only. While charging Mr. Rāmesan with suppressing the preceding and succeeding slokas and then to try to give a twisted meaning of svakāśrame[39a]. Mr. Iyer has himself suppressed altogether two very material parts of H. ms. Firstly, while giving his own rendering of the 5 stanzas from H. ms., he has translated wrongly the word svecchayā as 'casually', which to me at least has been done deliberately. Secondly - and this is very serious indeed -he has omitted the rendering of two quarters of two lines, viz. jagāma paramaṁ padam and tad vrttāntam samākarṇya. It is very significant that even while discussing the place of Śaṅkara's final disapearance, he should omit just those expressions, one of which says clearly and the other equally clearly suggests/indicates that Śaṅkar passed away at Kāñcī. What is still worse, he denies altogether such a mention in the passage quoted from the H. ms.[40] If, again, the words jagāma paramaṁ padam do not mean that he passed away at Kāñcī, Mr. Iyer should have said what they mean. Similarly if the words tad vrttāntam samakaraya do not refer to tidings about Śaṅkara's passing away, what do they convey ? When he has interpreted the remaining parts of the passage, why should he not linterpret these parts also ? Obviously because they do not suit his own theory. All his other comments are misleading and irrelevant to the point at issue, I have shown already how he has interpreted the passage in the same context from Śaṅkarabhyudaya of Rāja D. (VIII- 7 1 ). How far all these works are reliable is quite a different matter but once we set out to discuss them, what they say must be presented fairly, honestly and accurately, as far as we can, particularly when they pertain to very important issues.

Lastly, regarding the passage from Ananta's Sankara-Vijaya once again it says clearly that Śaṅkara laid down his body in front of the Kamākṣi image at Kāñcī. Whatever the validity of the work, the statement about Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī is clear beyond any doubt. Secondly, this statement is uniformly common to all the copies of the work. Critics of this work and of the Kāñcī version, who have found fault. with It for some different particulars about the birth place and parents of San. found in a few mss/editions of the same have not given it due crịdit for this uniformity. The process of dissolution of the physical body of Śaṅkara as described by the author, may be wrong or defective but that does not affect the statement about Śaṅkara's passing

away. One is a statement of fact, the other a question of philosophy.

To be able to say that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī, possibly in front of the Kāmāṣi image, it is not necessary to insist that the image in the corner of a compound of the Kāmākṣi temple is that of Śaṅkara himself or even that his body was interred there only and that, therefore, it is a samadhi structure built in honour of Śaṅkara. It has been contended that the image was originally one of Buddha, which was later converted into that of a Hindu Sannyāsin, who was still later indentified with Śaṅkara.[41] It has also been contended that it is against the Hindu scriptures to have a samādhi structure inside the compound of a temple of a Devayoni Goddess, which Kāmākṣi is said to be.[42] All this may be true and yet it does not follow from this that Śaṅkara did not pass away at Kāñcī.

That no remnants of any samadhi-like structure or a memorial which, is very likely to have been built to Śaṅkara at some place in Kāñcī are to be found today can also be no argument because even assuming the latest date viz. A. D. 788-820 for Śaṅkara nearly 1200 years have elapsed since he passed away and even if any structure were built, it is very likely to have been wiped out of existence. Structures or places, which were reliably reported to have existed just about 50 years prior to their search at the beginning of the present century, could not be found even after strenuous efforts.[43] Many instances can be cited' e. g. the city of Troy in Asia Minor, the tomb of King Solomon of Biblical fame.[44] The palace of Knossuss on the Cretan Island (hinterland of Greece)[45] where real history lay buried underground for centuries and even millennia had become turned into legend. The questions therefore, as to where the pit is at Kāñcī, where the body of Śaṅkara was interred and why the place of interment has not secured the fame and sanctity as the last resting place ot the great Teacher[46] need not be dubbed as inconvenient, with the adverse implication it is intended to convey. They cannot be answered satisfactorily tor obvious reasons, atleast in the present state of our knowledge.

A couple of points made out by Prof. N. K. Venkatesan47 deserve to be noted in this same connection..

a) Most of the Ś. V. s refer to a lot of "town-planning and town-founding work got done by Śaṅkara with the help of King Rajasena of Kāñcī." When he had already established his great matha at Sṛṅgeri where he is said to have stayed for 12 years why should he take so much trouble about Kāñcī therafter, unless he had certainly. more permanent interest in the place for himself ? He not only established Sri Cakra there, but also planned the whole town in the form of a Śri Cakra and placed Goddess Kāmākṣi at the centre of the Cakra (Bindu Sthāna). Prof. Venkatesan's conclusion is that all these facts go to show that as Śaṅkara had already finished all his preaching work, he considered Kāñcī the best place for his final stay.

ii) Prof. Venkatesan further points out (and so do many others) that there is in existence in Kāñcī even today one Man<;lana Misra-agraharam. This has however, been objected to on the following grounds:

a) Mr. Sarma and Mr. Iyer deny altogether the existence of such an Agrahara at Kāñcī.[48] On enquiry at Kāñcī however, in 1992, I was told that there did exist in Kāñcī a street named after Maṇḍana and that it was so named because a matha only is named after a Sannyāsi and not a street. Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastry tells us that Sureśvara passed away at the age of 70 years in a neighbouring village Puṇyarasa which was also named Maṇḍana Misra Agrahara.

b) The Agrahara must have been so named only after he (Maṇḍana) came to Kāñcī, when he must have become Sureśvara already and as such, the Agrahara should have been named after Sureśvara and not Maṇḍana.

Whether sucl an Agrahara exists or not and how it is named does not materially affect Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī. If, therefore, the evidence of the written word has any value, it can be said with good reason that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī only. This view is eminently borne out by the sculptural evidence available in and around Kāñcī even today. It is as follows:

i) Śaṅkara's seated statue with six standing disciples below, inside the premises of the Kāñcī temple. A similar seated statue of Śaṅkara with three standing disciples each on his right and left sides has been found very recently inside the presentŚaṅkara's matha in Śiva-Kāñcī, Salai street.

ii) A stone image of a Sannyāsin, standing, just inside the main entrance of the temple. The image is to the left.

iii) A Sannyāsin's image in the wall, in a sitting posture, where the Golden Image of Kāmākṣi was formerly kept.

iv) A Sannyāsins seated image just where the ulsava-mūrti of Kāmākṣi has been installed.

v) In front of the Goddess Annapūrṇā, there are three images of Subramana, Vyasa and a Sannyasin in a standing posture.

vi) A Sannyāsin's standing image, near Annapūrṇā Mantap, at the bottom of the pillar

Besides these, the following images are found in the two cities of Kāñcī:

vii) A Sannyāsin, standing with danda in hand before the seated image of Vyasa, on one of the pillars in the Varadaraja temple in Viṣṇu-Kāñcī.

viii) The figure of a standing Sannyasin, with daṇḍa kamandalu, dipa, Çandramauli, Bhaṣya-

book etc., in a pose of penance, on each of the two pillars at the entrance of Vaikuntha Perumula temple in Śiva Kāñcī.

ix) A Sannyasin's figure with daṇḍa and daṇḍasatra in Sirsasana posture in the Ekamreśvara temple in Śiva-Kāñcī.

x) On the inner wall of the garbhagrha in a temple called Sivasthanam, about a mile from Kāñcī, we find figure of a Sannyasin.[49]

Except No. ix and x, I have personally seen all. There may be a doubt about one or two of them. It is however, a fact that throughout my travel in India, covering most of the Śaṅkara centres, I have not seen sculptures in such abundance anywhere, showing the images of Sannyāsins, all of whom have been identified as Śaṅkara of Kālati.

The crux of the problem, particularly from the standpoint of the opponents of the Kāñcī version, seems to be that if Kāñcī is conceded as the place of Śaṅkara's passing away, his stay there during the last days of his life will also have to be conceded. In that case the possibility of his having established at Kāñcī a marha-not necessarily an Āmnāya matha for himself will be difficult to resist and certain consequential implications like that marha being the Guru Marha and so on, were also likely to follow and it would be difficult to resist them. If only the establishment of a marha at Kancl were not contingent upon Śaṅkara's passing away there, the opponents might even have conceded that honour to Kāñcī. This is only a hypothesis but well worth consideration.[50]

Kāñcī has all. along been regarded as one of the seven mokṣa-puris in India. It has also been, particularly in the past, a place of great religious, cultural and academic importance and the centre of great religious and academic activity. It is therefore, quite natural that Śaṅkara may have thought of closing the last chapter of his life at such a sacred place, after he had finished all his other work elsewhere, particularly in the north, and though the exact place at Kāñcī of his passing away cannot be pin-pointed today with certainty, he possibly gave up his body in front of the Goddess Kāmākṣi, whom he must have held in very high reverence. The. sculptural evidence also shows the very close nexus between Kāñcī and Śaṅkara and seems to bear out the same conclusion. Till such time therefore as more conclusive evidence becomes available otherwise, it seems quite reasonable to endorse the view that most probably. Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī only and not anywhere in the North in the Himalayan regions.

## ABBREVIATIONS :

A) Śan / Śanya - Śaṅkara /Sankaracarya

Gov Muni -Govinda Muni

Gauda -Gauḍapada

Sure -Suresvara

Viśva -Viśvarūpa

Prthvi -Prthvidhava/ra

Abhi San -Abhinava Sankara

Datta -Dattatreya

Kāma -Kāmākṣi

Sṛṅ -Sṛṅgeri

Ach Modak -Achyutaraya Modak

Nara -Narayana

Vidya -Vidyānanda (Sarasvati)

Puru Bha -Purusottama Bharati

Gov -Govindanatha

Vya -Vyasacala

Mād -Mādhava

Cid -Cidvilāsa

Tiru D -Tirumala Dixit

G V K -Guru Vamśa Kāvya

San Vilasa - Srankarendra Vilasa

G R M - Guru Ratna Malika,

Guru Māla -Guruparampara Stotra/Nama Māla

Pat Ca -Patañjali Carita

Ś. Rah -Siva Rahasya

H Ms -Hultzsch Manuscript

Bel Ms -elgaum Manuscript

Rāja. D -Rajacūdamani Dikṣit

Anand -Anandagiri

Ananta -Anantanandagiri

Br Saras -Brahmananda Sarasvati

Sadā -Sadānanda

Cit. -Citsukha

Rama D. - Ramabhadra Dikṣit

B) Kū. Ś. V. -Kūṣmāṇda Śankara Vijaya

Br. Ś. V -Brhat Śaṅkara Vijaya

Pr. Ś. V. -Pracina Śaṅkara Vijaya

S. S. Jaya -Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya

Śaṅ. Dig Sāra -Śankara Digvijaya Sāra

Śan Daya -Śaṅkarabhyudaya

Ś V -Sarikara Vijaya

Bhag Daya -Bhagavat-padabhyudaya

Ś. Ca. - Śankārācārya Carita

K Ś V -Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya

S. V Vilasa - Śarikara Vijaya vilāsa,

Ś. M S -Śankara Mandara Saurabha

MS / MSS -Manuscript / Manuscripts

Truth - The truth about the Kumbakonam mutt by Sri R. K. Iyer (Pt. II) and Sri KR Vektaraman (Pt.II)

JSMV - 'Jagadguru' Śaṅkara Matha Vimarśa by Mr. Raja Gopala Sarma

Agra- Agrahāram

Myth -'Kāñcī Kamakoti Mutt - A Myth' by Sri R. G. Sarma.

I. A -Indian Antiquary.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Vide Kūs Ś. V -V. 15, 16.
2. Vide ŚCa by Gov. Edited by Sri Diwakaran Nambudiri, 1956, Prastavana -p. 11.
3. Vide Kūṣ S. V -V 16
4. Vide G.V.K. -III 63 to 66
5. Vide Jagadguru Śankara Matha Vimarśa (JSMV.) pp. 488 & 'Myth' -p. 48 -both by Mr. R. G. Sarma.
6. Vide JSMV - p. 493 & .Myth' -p. 48 - Both by Mr Sarma.
7. Vide JSMV - p 494 by Mr. R. G. Sarma
8. Truth by Mr. R. K. Iyer - p. 164
9. Ibid - p 156
10. Vide JSMV by Mr. Sarma. p. 87 and p 488.
11. Vide JSMV by Mr Sarma -pp 87, 88 & ' Myth ' -by Mr. Sarma -pp. 47 to 51.
12. Vide his i) Ādi Śankara Guruparamparyam, Pub. by Sri. T. Ramakrṣṇa Āśrama. Trichur, p 21 and ii) Ārśa Bharata Paramparyam. Trichur
13. Vide JSMV by Mr. Sarma and 'Truth' by Mr. R. K iyer
14. Vide Suṣama on G. R M. - St 33 The stanzas are

    इति निश्चत्य मनसा श्रीमान् शङ्करदेशिकः । मठे श्रीशारदाभिख्ये सर्वज्ञं निदधन्मुनिम् ।
    सुरेश्वरं वृत्तिकृतमन्तिकरथं तदाऽऽदरात् । समं संस्थाप्य तस्मै स्वं वक्तुं भाष्यं समन्वशात् ॥
    स्वशिष्यपारम्पर्येणं लिङ्गं स्वं योगनामकम् । सेवर्यनं कामकोटिपीठे सार्धं बसेति च ॥
    इत्याज्ञां संप्रदायाऽस्मै त्यक्तपीठमठस्पृहः । कामाक्ष्या निकटे जातु संनिविश्य जगद्गुरुः ॥
    देहिभिर्दुर्भेजे भेजे देहं तत्रैव संत्यजन् । अखण्डज्योतिरानन्दमक्षरं परमं पदम् ॥
    स एव शङ्कराचार्यो गुरुर्मुक्तिप्रदः सताम् । अद्यापि मूर्तं चैतन्यमिव तत्रैव तिष्ठति ॥

15. the seven editions / copies are
    1) Ś Ca by Gov, Published by Citrasala Press, Poona, 1931.
    2) Ś Ca by Gov, Printed and Published/by Mangalodayam Press, Trichur
    3) Ś Ca by Gov., edited by Sri Diwakaran Nambudiri, Tripunathara, Oct 1966.
    4) Ś Ca by Gov, Ms No.84 745184208 Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur.

5) Ś Ca by Gov, Ms No D 12171, Govt Ori. Mss. Library, Madras.

6) Ś Ca by Gov, Ms No R 3790, Govt Ori. Mss Library, Madras.

7) Ś Ca attributed 10 Anantakavi but the same as Ś Ca by Gov, Ms. from Palace Bhandaram or Library, Mysore In addition to these, I have with me one text of this same work, the source of which cannot be given; perhaps it is the same as No 4 above

16) Read तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनात्प्राप्तजयः सकामम्। स्वकाश्रमे।
तान्वै विजित्य तस्सा श्रुतिशास्त्रजालैर्मिश्रान्स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥

17) Vide his booklet Śri Śṛṅgeri Śarada Mutt - p 30

18) Read सिद्धिशब्दो न मोक्षवाचकः । कुतः शक्तेर्मानाभावात् ।... अतः साधनार्थः मनोरथानां सिद्धिमवापेत्यर्थः ।
From भट्ट श्रीनारायणशास्त्री Vimarśa 8 - p. 26, quoted by Mr. Sundaramiah on p. 30.

19) Vide - JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 131

20) Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 129 & 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer - p. 124

21) Vide 'Truth' -Mr. Iyer - p. 129.

22) Read एतत्कथाजालं बृहच्छङ्करविजय एव श्रीमदानन्द ज्ञानाख्यानन्दगिरिविरचिते द्रष्टव्यमिति दिक्।

23) Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 127.

24) Ibid -p. 127

25) Ibid -pp. 123 / 124

26) Ibid -pp 644 to 647

27) Read कम्पातीरनिवासिनीमनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन्।
ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगतां क्षेमकरः शङ्करः। VIII III

28) Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma -p. 239.

29) Ibid - p. 239

30) 'Truth' -Mr. Iyer, pp 157/158

31) Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma -p. 233

32) Vide 'Truth' - p. 157

33) Ibid -p. 157 Mr. Iyer also refers to Mr. Ramesan citing the opinion of two Vaiṣnava research scholars that Śaṅkara settled and passed away at Kāñcī though the place where he resided, preached, and attained siddhi is still shrouded in mystery p. 159

34) For Mr. Sarma's remarks and his discussion of the topic, vide his JSMV -pp. 224-226

35) The 'relevant parts of the three works are ,

a) Dr. Hultzsch Ms (H Ms ) from Sarasvati 'Mahal Library, Tanjore, Report of Sanskrit Mss in South India, Vol. III ( 1905)

Ms No 2146 entitled Guruparampara stotra, p. 133 The Guruparampara from Śiva to Sureśvara is given first and then the 5 stanzas are .

संस्थाप्य स्वमठं कृत्वा तुङ्गभद्रानदीतटे। तत्र स्थित्वा द्वादशाब्दं यतिं पृथ्वीधराभिधम्॥
विद्यापीठाधिषं कृत्वा भारतीसंज्ञया गुरुः। अ(आ)गच्छत्स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथिवीतले॥
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम्। विश्वरूपयतिं स्थाप्य स्वाश्रमस्य प्रचारणे॥
स्वयं काञ्चीमगात्तूर्णं श्रीपृथ्वीधरभारती। तद्वृत्तान्तं समाकर्ण्य तपसः सिद्धये तदा॥
श्रीविश्वरूपयोगीन्द्राज्जातश्चिद्रूपभारती। ततो गङ्गाधरयतिस्ततश्चिद्घनभारती॥

b) गुरुपरम्परास्तोत्रमाला - published by श्रीकूडलिशृङ्गेरीमठ -

The relevant stanzas are

आचार्यपीठान् संस्थाप्य स दिक्षु चतसृष्वपि। तुङ्गभद्रानदीतीरे ऋष्यशृङ्गाश्रमेऽवसत्॥
तत्र स्थित्वा द्वाशाब्दान्यतिं पृथीवधराभिधम्। विद्यापीठाधिपं कृत्वा भारतीसंज्ञया गुरुः॥
स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः। तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम्॥
पृथ्वीधरयतिः पीठे ब्रह्मविद्याप्रचारणे। विश्वरूपं प्रतिष्ठाप्य काञ्च्यां ब्रह्मत्वमाप्तवान्॥
श्रीविश्वरूपयोगीन्द्राज्जातश्चिद्रूपभारती। ततो गङ्गाधरयतिस्तस्माश्चिद्घनभारती॥

C) 'The Date of Śaṅkaracarya' by Sri K. B. Pathak, I. A. Vol. XI, June 1882, pp. - 174/175 Mr. Pathak, after giving Śaṅkara's Guruparampara, writes as follows The ms. next says that Śaṅkara established his Matha on the banks of the Tungabhadra, appointed Prthvidhara to be the head of it, conferred upon him the title Bharat and आगत्य स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथिवीतले। तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम्॥ Then follow the names of his successors. p 175

36) Vide I A. June 1882, pp. 174-175.

37) Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 160.

38) Ibid - p. 161.

39) Vide IA, June 1882 above.

39a) Vide -'Truth' - Mr. Iyer. p. 161.

40) Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 160.

41) Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 505, ' Myth' - Mr. Sarma, pp. 49 & 50.

42) Vide JSMV - pp. 130. 490 - 495 & 'Myth' - p. 49; both by Mr Sarma

43) Read 1. ' The search for the girl with the blue eyes' by Jess Stearn

2. 'Search for Bridey -Murphy' by Morey Burnstein.

44) Read: 'Wonders of the world' (series). Hamlyn Publishing Co., London

45) 'The Palace of Knossus' by Sir Arthur Evans

46) Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 39.

47) Vide JOR - Madras, Vol. I pp. 330-335

48) Vide

1) JSMV - by Mr. Sarma - pp. 516 - 517.

2) 'Truth' - by Mr. Iyer (Pt. I) pp. 86, 87.

49) Vide his' Age of Sarikara, ' p. 177.

50) In this connection, also read 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 144.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been prepared under the guidance of Principal R.D. Karmarkar, Ex-Director, Post-Graduate and Research Department, Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona - 4. I have greatly benefited by the discussion held with him, particularly at the time of reading out the thesis to him, when he made many important and valuable suggestions. My sincere thanks are due to him for the same.

My thanks are due to the Prime Minister's Secretariat, New Delhi, Government of India, New Delhi and the State-Governments of Bombay and Madras for the help they tried to give me to get access to certain sources of material relating to my thesis.

My humblest and most respectful thanks are also due to their Holiness, Jagadgurus, Śrī Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī mutts for extending to me every facility for my research work at their respective mutts.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not give my grateful thanks to Dr. P.K. Gode, Curator, B.O.R.I., Poona - 4 and his assistant, Śrī S. N. Savadi for their very prompt and willing cooperation and help, but for which I would have made but little progress in my work.

I am greatly indebted, indeed, to all the libraries (mentioned in Ch.I of the thesis) and their directors and Curators for their courtesy and kindness in giving me free access to their records and for other help I needed in connection with my thesis.

Lastly, I take this opportunity to record my feeling of gratitude to all those persons, too numerous to be mentioned individually, who have helped me, more or less, in my present research work.